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EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH

THE INDIVIDUAL IN HIS RELATION TO
THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

BY

JOHN PARSONS.

*"All are needed by each one
Nothing is fair or good alone."*

EMERSON

New York
STURGIS & WALTON
COMPANY

1909

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BY JOHN PARSONS

In Memory of
EDWIN PARSONS
SAGACIOUS SELF RELIANT GENEROUS
ALFRED, MAINE, 1823—1895

PREFACE.

The social questions of the day are clamoring for solution. Newspapers and periodicals are incessantly discussing the subject but they often leave us in perplexity. There is no lack of scientific works for trained scholars, and elaborate cyclopedias are within reach. But few general readers know how to use either of them. A handy volume is needed, both for study and for convenient reference. A full index should refer to every phase and illustration of the subject; and the application of its principles should be made systematic and luminous by well reasoned discussion.

This is precisely the want which the author of this book has tried to meet. It is not a scientific treatise on sociology, but it applies the results thus far reached by science to a mass of questions in education, industry, philanthropy, government and religion. The author has kept constantly in view the requirements of students, teachers, preachers, editors and public speakers. Societies for research in this field are extending far beyond our universities. Working men are discussing these things thoroughly. Many clubs are making social science the central object of their organization. Public libraries, especially in small villages far removed from large collections of books, ought to have something in small compass which will guide these eager investigations.

And sooner or later we shall find that the place of the individual in economical, political and other systems, which are all becoming more and more complicated, is the pivot on which theory and practice must turn. The readers of this book will instinctively put themselves in the place of the individual who is mentioned on almost every page, and will probably find themselves finally either in cordial agreement with, or firmly opposed to, its contentions.

The author began to write with no intention to exceed the dimensions of a magazine article. He found however, the social factors so numerous and the method of operations so varied that more space than a periodical could give would be required. The only way left for presenting the discussion to the eye of the public must be in book form which, wisely or unwisely, he has ventured to attempt in the present volume.

J. P.

Alfred, Maine.

October 26, 1909.

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EACH FOR ALL
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INTRODUCTION.

It is now more than two generations since the youthful hero of Locksley Hall complained that "the individual withers and the world is more and more." This gloomy view is shared by many persons to-day. Corporations, trusts, combines, magnates and machinery of all kinds, we are told, make it harder and harder for the individual to live; and we hear much depressing prophecy as to the outcome. There is also a certain tendency to dwell on the vastness and complexity of modern society, until one man seems to count for nothing among social causes. Then too the idea of law is constantly emphasized so that the individual appears as drifting helplessly in the current.

Such a view is highly superficial. It mistakes the changes that are incidental to social progress for abiding limitations of individual opportunity. Every step forward brings loss to someone. When the sewing

machine was invented it caused distress among seamstresses. When the railroad supplanted the stage coach, it made hard times for inn-keepers and drivers of coaches. The substitution of electricity for horse power in our street-car systems was a calamity for breeders of horses. The concentration of industry in large corporations often drives the small manufacturers to the wall; and it is quite conceivable that some new invention should send most of our costly machinery to the scrap heap, by superseding it. Just now retail dealers throughout the country are in dread of the parcel post, lest it give undue advantage to the great city stores.

But such changes are not hostile to individualism. When we have adjusted ourselves to the new order, we find that everybody is better off. No one would now be benefitted by going back to the needle, the scythe, the flail, the stage coach, or to the inefficient manufacturing processes of a hundred years ago, and such a return would be a calamity to civilization. Indeed there is good reason for thinking that the individual never had so good a chance as he has to-day. The inventions and combinations, which for a time seemed to work against him, have

in the long run helped him to larger opportunities and a more human life. Society by no means annuls the individual, on the contrary the individual comes to himself only through society, and society grows only through the effort of the individual. Man without society is impossible, and society without man is nothing. The existing social order is the matrix of the individual new-comer. It furnishes him with organized life, with language and with a great body of customs, traditions, ideas, knowledge and incentives, which are the net results of collective experience. Only by means of society can the individual attain his normal development or acquire any effective significance in the world.

The purpose of the present volume is to enforce and illustrate the importance of the individual in the social order. It makes no claim to a position among scientific treatises of sociology. The author has frequently been impressed, in his observation and reading, with the power of individual influence. Single acts of no apparent moment have often produced great and permanent results. In attempting to trace the connection between these seemingly trivial causes and their vast

effects, he has been led to study the forms and conditions of human influence in general, and these he aims to describe in familiar speech, as throwing light upon the significance of the individual. The questions involved profoundly affect the larger interests of mankind, whether in industry, philanthropy, education, government or religion. They also profoundly affect the life of the individual himself. Any theory which belittles the individual as a social cause weakens his effort and lowers his efficiency. If men believe themselves insignificant, they will abandon their ideals. If they think themselves powerless, they will lose heart. Whatever on the contrary tends to restore faith in the ability of the individual to initiate social movements or to make use of them for the progress of the world, has practical value. It encourages those endeavors upon which the advancement of the race depends.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

We may define a system as an organization of closely related elements, working in harmony, and guided by a common law. When we speak of a railroad system there arises before our minds the well-articulated parts of a widely extended network of roads. When we refer to a political system we think of the closely connected departments of an efficient government. The parts of such a system are not independent; rather each fits in with every other like the parts of a skillfully constructed machine.

In like manner when we speak of the social system we imply that men are so influenced by a common instinct or law, and their interests are so bound together, that they share one common human life. There is such a common instinct and it needs little study of social psychology to show that the individual was not intended to live alone. Sociality is a quality of all sentient life. To-

gether animals seek their common interests. Fishes swim in schools, ants and bees form colonies, birds flock together, cattle range in herds, beavers work in groups. In a like manner man is conscious of his social nature and is gregarious.

(The sociality of human beings is of a higher grade than that of the brutes. The human clan is far above the ant colony. Man is built for the heights and as he moves upward he carries with him all previous acquisitions of lower animal types, and of incipient humanity. All share in the achievement of the one.) The individual can never consider his own interests alone. In his simplest operations he affects his fellows. (History is a story of the improvement of weapons and utensils, originated by one but extending to all; of a larger recognition of the rights of the group, then of other tribes and peoples; of better government, better education and better institutions for the pursuit of moral and religious ideals for the benefit of the many and not solely for the one.

(The bond of unity becomes closer and more all-embracing as men rise in the scale of civilization. Among savages the family and tribal bond is strong, but the social sphere is narrow.

The tribal oneness is restricted to such common interests as coöperation in the hunt, union for attack and defence, communal dwellings and a common object of worship. There is no broad mental outlook, and hence there are no broad social sympathies. Distrust and hostility are the rule between tribe and tribe. (Increase of civilization tends to create larger industrial and trade relations, to bring wider territory under a common law, to create the fine arts and to promote an interchange of religious and cultural ideas. These advantages are first felt by the few but civilization in time improves the lot of the many. Thus out of a common social life with its constant interplay of activity and constant interchange of thought between each and all comes progress.)

A faulty historical philosophy, due to a lack of understanding of the evolutionary processes of social advance, has maintained that society was a human invention, that at sometime in the distant past there was a formal contract among men by which they agreed to live together with consideration for each other's needs. The modern emphasis upon the individual fostered this theory. It was the principle of the English revolution

of 1688; it was the formula of Rousseau in the days of the French revolutionary philosophy. A truer conception of human progress has revealed the fallacy of such a theory, and it is agreed today that the common life is of the essence of humanity, and that as it is inwrought into the fibre of man's nature so it must be wrought out to ever greater perfection until the universal harmony is complete.

A study of the actual workings of society makes very plain the dependent relation of each and all. The individual is helpless without the well-knit whole. Each man needs all men for mutual help, for companionship and for guidance.

The individual needs society first for economic purposes. He is not economically self-sufficient. He is dependent upon others for his food supplies, for clothing and for shelter. There is a vast mechanism for the production, transportation and exchange of the necessities of life which the individual has not built up but finds ready to hand. And the higher the stage of civilization, the greater is the individual's economic dependence; for there is more division of labor and farther transportation of goods, and more

things are exchanged. Each member of society profits by the special talents of the rest. He is fed by expert agriculturists and tradesmen, housed, clothed and accommodated with every convenience and luxury by expert artisans and manufacturers, protected by expert soldiers and governed by expert men of affairs.

Again the individual needs society for companionship. Besides exchanging products men must exchange experiences and ideas. The hunter delights to relate to his comrades the story of the woods; the scientist reciprocates the enthusiasm of his colleague in the laboratory. The heart seeks a response to its outgoing affections; the moral nature needs standards of social and moral attainment such as are furnished by those who have already attained; the soul longs for fellowship in its struggle upward towards a higher and nobler life.

Sometimes the stimulus comes from the clashing of opinion. In the hermit's cell the individual's mind becomes warped; if he is summoned to defend his theories in the market-place his wits are sharpened and his ideas corrected. History reveals many a bloody arena of politics and religion, but

through the conflicts there have come clearer thought and broader sympathy and larger life.

Once more the individual needs society for restraint and guidance. Tribal custom and national law must keep down the brute nature of the individual. Education must find avenues to his dormant soul, reveal to him fields of opportunity and unfold the latent possibilities within him. He should remember that apostles and saints, heroes and martyrs, thinkers and inventors, preachers and teachers, and a noble army of laborers in every field have given their lives to make him possible. Realizing this he will become so sensitive to the social consciousness and so responsive to the best public opinion of his time that he will attain to ideals of citizenship and know in himself the meaning of brotherhood.

But this is only part of the truth. The individual man needs his fellows, but they need him also, for initiative, for leadership and for noble example.

First of all, society needs the individual for initiative. The social group is bound together by tradition, custom and social forms. These tend to monotony and stagnation, and

work against progress. Some one must break through tradition and custom, must suggest improvements and clear away the rubbish that blocks the way onward. The community as a whole is conservative. Thought must become differentiated. So it has been in history. Prince Henry the Navigator changed the currents of trade in Europe because he believed in a better way, and urged and assisted Portuguese seamen to creep farther and farther down the unknown African coast till a better route was found to the Indies. The new waterway thus opened up revolutionized European commerce and led the Dutch, the French and the English in turn to emulate Portugal in founding eastern empires.

Everywhere the importance of individual initiative appears. Even the terms, "science," "art," "music," mean the ideas of individual scientists, artists and musicians. Geometry means Euclid. The higher mathematics means Descartes, Newton, Leibnitz, not to mention modern names. Astronomy means Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, or whatever other leaders may be suggested. Music means Handel, Bach, Beethoven and their fellows. Science means Faraday, Maxwell,

Thomson, Helmholtz, Virchow, Kirchoff and the rest of the noble company. Philosophy means Plato and Aristotle and Descartes and Kant and Hegel. Knowledge is advanced not by copying and reiterating, but through investigation carried on by individuals, generally by *exceptional* individuals. There is no art, no literature, except where there are self-expression, consulting of the inner oracle and resolute insensibility to the clamors of the crowd.

Again society needs the individual for leadership as well as for initiation. The lowest band of savages must choose some one to lead them. No industrial enterprise ever succeeded without a director; no campaign was ever won without competent officers; no state can hold together without obedience to authority. There must be not only the impulse of initiation but sustained leadership also. Any irresponsible enthusiast might propose a Suez Canal, but it took the capable leadership of DeLesseps to accomplish its construction. Moral reform in business and politics was in the air in the early years of the twentieth century, but it took on irresistible force when it was championed by the National Administration. The leader has

enabled society to make constant progress in material things, to maintain itself in ever larger aggregates, to arrest internal discords and foreign assaults, and to work out improved forms of political and social life without perishing in the process. Captains and standard-bearers have been necessary in every field of human activity.

Yet again society needs the individual to embody its ideals and to be its pattern. The few see visions and blaze the way to their realization. In themselves they establish social criteria. Charles Kingsley said that it mattered little what might be the fortune of the plans of Maurice and himself, but that if they two could set the social pattern of their time, men would be better for their having lived. In science, philosophy, art and morals, the standard by which society measures itself is exhibited by a few great men. St. Francis of Assisi so charmed the mediæval imagination by his gentle and devoted character, that he became to many an ideal for both art and for conduct. Somewhere in the remote age when history becomes dim in the midst of legend, lived King Arthur the perfect Knight. From then until the present his ideal of gentle manhood, has

hovered not only before the Table Round, but also before all men who would do deeds of chivalrous courtesy. By such influences as these society advances toward perfection.

So intimate and vital is the relation between the individual and society that society has been likened to an organism, of which the individuals are members. The analogy is not quite perfect, for there are profound differences between society and an organism in the literal sense. In society each member has its own life and consciousness; and the bond that unites them is spiritual, not physical. Yet it is a useful and illuminative analogy, for there are three fundamental characteristics in the life of an organism which hold true also of the social system: inner-purpose, inner-control, and inner-growth.*

By inner-purpose we mean that the organism has its end, or the purpose of its being, in its own life. The purpose is not external, as in the case of a machine which produces things that have no vital relation to itself. The shoes or tacks or lasts, that a machine turns out are nothing to the machine, and

*Compare Mackenzie, "Introduction to Social Philosophy," Chap. III.

it is nothing to them. But an organism exists for itself, and its activities are directed to realizing its own proper nature. Thus the oak in every stage of its growth from the acorn gradually realizes the law of its existence. This law implies nothing but the perfection of the tree. To be sure, oaks may be included in a higher purpose which has for its end the fitting up of a world for human development; but nevertheless the whole duty of an oak is to be an oak and all the uses to which it may be put are accidents, so far as the oak itself is concerned. Society also has its end within itself. The perfection of a community of moral beings, realizing their spiritual capacities to the highest, is the supreme end of social effort. Society seeks to develop the resources of its individual members through the training of the school-room, through the activities of business life and through the deliberations of council halls. It seeks to minister to higher needs by its encouragement of the study of nature and art, and by its institutions for ethical and religious culture. By the improvement of its individual members society improves itself.

A further characteristic of an organism is inner-control. By that we mean that provision is made within every organism for the regulation of its activities, in accordance with its inner purpose. In the higher forms of life this controlling power is centralized in the brain which sends out its orders to control and direct the movements of nerves and muscles. In this way it regulates the activities of all the parts in the interest of the whole organism.

The inner-control of society is by no means so simple and single as that of a physical organism. Still the analogy is suggestive. Society has its center of control in government. The function of government is to insist that the behavior of each member of the community shall contribute to the interests of the whole, and to regulate the separate activities for the common advantage. These ends are achieved by distributing its authority to military, judicial, legislative, executive and other branches. And yet although government is the strongest controlling force in society, it is not the only one. The church, by its moral appeal to conscience and the will of God; humanitarian organizations, by their appeal to enlightened sym-

pathy; intellectual and æsthetic groups, by their appeal to standards of truth and beauty revealed by the master minds and embodied by the great artists; and most of all, custom and public opinion have also their influence and combine to rule the members of society for their own good and for the welfare of the whole. Thus society has its own controlling forces within itself.

Further still an organism has inner-growth. It does not, like a crystal, grow by mere accretion. The materials for growth come indeed from without, but the power of growth is within the organism which transmutes these materials into its own life. The acorn becomes the oak by assimilating what it takes out of the earth and the air. In much the same way society transmutes to its own likeness the raw materials that it receives from different sources. It must change and adapt to its own purposes the individuals who are to compose it. It must assimilate each new generation and every shipload of immigrants. This it does through community of interest, through law, education, inter-marriage and the irresistible power of social suggestion. If this increase of population is to strengthen the nation and not to weaken

it, the immigrants must blend with the nation, conform to its customs, obey its laws and assume the responsibilities it imposes.

But here again we must observe that the organic nature of society presupposes the individual and rests on his activity. We have seen that the social organism has its purpose within; namely, to develop into the best possible society. Now the best society is obviously that which contains a number of individuals who realize the highest types of life that social circumstances permit. Each individual is under obligation to perform his duty towards God, to set a good example to others, and to use his powers in helping his fellows directly or in the improvement of general conditions. (In thus fulfilling the inner purpose of society, he contributes to its growth in that combination of power and of spirit which we term civilization.) So also with the inner control of society. (The individual is at once controller and controlled, and in both capacities he furthers the progress of civilization.) The humblest has some power of guiding the action of his associates and curbing their passions, as well as of mastering his own impulses. The leaders exercise most control

over others, and have a correspondingly greater duty toward themselves. In proportion as society is thus controlled it is civilized. And the process of inner growth by assimilation is likewise dependent upon individual activity. The parent trains his children so that they accord with the social type of the community; the teacher brings his pupils into harmony with the intellectual type determined by the culture of his time; the minister moulds the ideas of his church to the religious thought of his generation; the political manager instructs his followers in current questions of government. Every workman has an immense silent influence in changing his foreign companions into the national type. The child of alien parents, under the influence of his schoolmates, soon becomes an eager native in feeling. Such assimilation is civilization in the truest sense.

Thus far we have considered the organic structure of the social system with special reference to the inter-dependence of society and the individual. Now the same principle and the same needs which have united men in the great social and governmental forms, have also produced a variety of other groups which are of vast importance for both the

individual and the community. Some of these grow spontaneously out of human conditions. Such are the family, the school, the neighborhood, the citizen group, the church. Others, such as schools of thought, of philanthropy or of art, social clubs, scientific associations and the like spring from more definite reflection and more deliberate choice. But all of these groups serve to bring men into more intimate relations and to make life richer. To illustrate our discussion, we may select from the multitude of these lesser groups the four most vital to modern civilization: the economic, the intellectual, the moral and the religious.

The remarkable advance of the last few generations in agriculture, manufactures, commerce and artisanship, has necessarily resulted in a great increase in the number, range and strength of economic groupings. The members of the vast departments of trade, transportation and manufacture are linked together by common interests, capacities and experiences. Many of these economic groups publish their own trade journals, conduct bureaus of information and employment, form benefit societies and organize insurance enterprises. Chambers of com-

merce, boards of trade, clearing-houses and exchanges are further examples of this tendency.

The same economic development has given rise to labor organizations. The mediæval guilds proposed "to get full good of special skill, to preserve trade secrets, and to prevent intrusion of the incompetent." They did much to develop skilled workmanship, to prevent distress and to steady business. While they lasted, probably no other single bond except the family was so strong. With the coming of the era of capital and the consequent separation of the employer and the employee, the guilds passed away and labor unions took their place. The unity of interest and feeling among workmen in any occupation is inevitable and proper. Through his labor organization, the wage-earner has become a factor of both economic and social importance. In many quarters he is able not only to dictate terms to his employer, but also to carry elections and initiate social changes. Trades-unionism has already developed a large body of intelligent and self-respecting men, whose general social fitness is steadily advancing.

In the intellectual and æsthetic group the bond is of greater strength than in the economic, since it is derived from a higher faculty of our nature. In spite of the differences of race and institutions men feel themselves drawn together by a common interest. They form associations for the enrichment of science by coöperative endeavor, and those who agree in the principles of art make up the various schools with which students of the beautiful are familiar. The added intensity which comes from this concentrated effort and affection results in greater achievement and a correspondingly greater uplift of society as a whole.

Stronger still are the ties that bind together the members of the moral group, for economic needs, intellectual interests and æsthetic taste, must give place to the demands of conscience. One of the most significant tendencies of recent times is the extension of active benevolence from small bands of charitable persons to the general community. The ideal duty to the race as a whole, which has long dominated the noblest souls, has become an active force in education, and to an ever increasing extent in government. It has created a new atmosphere in society

and changed the diplomacy of the world. Social service is now recognized as a vocation. Many devote their lives to improving the condition of their fellows. Men and women are organized to give sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, training to the waifs, better housing to the poor. They combine to relieve the overburdened, to protect the weak and to reclaim the erring. Associated charities, social settlements, peace societies, the Red Cross League,—these and similar groups work together as a general reforming and uplifting force, tending more and more to make men feel that their first duty is to mankind.

The religious group takes precedence of all others, for the bond which unites it takes hold upon the inner life. Religion governs the affections, the mind and the will. It establishes a kinship of soul, as lasting as it is profound,—a kinship which persecution has merely proved to be indestructible. Christ himself taught that the claims of religion are superior even to the ties of family. And countless believers, of all creeds and in every age, have cheerfully left home and country and have endured untold hardships and perils, to follow its dictates.

The religious group has not only experienced the great uplift of its faith, but it has also benefited by the social inheritance which religion brings with it. When in the Middle Ages the barbarians were compelled by force to accept Christianity, they were at once enabled to enrich their lives with the whole heritage of European culture. They became the heirs of Homer and Plato, of Virgil and the Roman law,—in short they entered into possession of all that we owe to classic times.

The religious group includes all sorts and conditions of men. The bond which joins its members can make strong political and social units of people who would otherwise remain scattered and weak. Belief in the mission and teachings of Mohammed united the shifting tribes of the Arabian desert into a formidable force which founded four caliphates. Christianity thus challenged showed its cohesive power by sending, in crusades against the Moslems, the nations of western Europe hitherto engaged in warfare with one another. The religious bond is the most nearly universal, because the interest in the divine is the only interest that is common to every race.

We have now defined the social system and have studied in outline its relation to the individual and the groups which compose it. In conclusion we should bear in mind as the point to be emphasized, that the social order which we have inherited from past ages does not exist for itself but for the up-building and enlargement of the individual. In so far as it helps us we conserve it; when it hinders, we modify it; but in its ideals, and mainly also in its actuality, the social order is the instrument whereby civilization is realized and the individual is developed into a truly human being. Within the system, "We are members one of another." Each needs all, and all need each for the perfection of life and the progress of society.

CHAPTER II.

INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that the structure of society is such as to provide a broad basis for the individual's action, and to make his influence both definite and far-reaching. In particular, we have seen that social progress of all kinds goes back to the individual and begins with him. We must now consider this fact in some detail. Thus the importance of the individual, which has been obscured by a mechanical philosophy, will be set in a clearer light.

With respect to the individual's relation to the natural forces that loom so large in the popular mind, his subordination to them is no more manifest than their subordination to him. Here the significance of man as initiator comes out in a striking manner. When we visit a great mill or factory, our first impression is of the immense forces which are in action. They dwarf us in our own estimation, and for the moment we

feel that we have no control over them. But when we reflect on the steps by which these very machines have been perfected and remember that behind every stage in their growth lay the thought of a man and the work of a man, we realize that whatever dignity they may have, man has given to them. They are nothing in themselves. The millions of iron slaves which separate and combine raw materials, which spin and weave and sew for us, which in short work the miracles of our times, were at first but ideas in the brain of the inventor. The most powerful and marvelous of them were once mere lines on paper and even when finally constructed, they were only dead matter until the brain of an engineer set them throbbing with water or steam or electric power. And in general, the forces of nature everywhere are waiting to serve us when man the initiator arises. Like the genius of the magic lamp, they are at our service when we speak the word.

If we look for the relation of the individual to the great social mass, history shows that progress is through individual initiative. New truth is not revealed to all men at once; it begins in the thought of the gifted indi-

vidual. At first it is decried as a heresy, social or religious, but it wins its way, until it is merged in the custom and tradition of mankind. Society enters into what the individual discovers, invents, creates. When there is no vision on the part of leaders the people perish, or at best they wander in the wilderness, unable to reach the promised land. Even democracy is fast learning this lesson, as appears in the growing tendency to concentrate power and responsibility in a few hands, and often in a single individual. Only the man of insight and energy is capable of so uniting and directing social forces as to secure the best results. A mob of small men, however good their intentions, can only blunder and waste. Carlyle may have overdone his worship of the great man, but it is certain that some Moses must arise when any Israel is to be led out of its Egypt.

We shall now attempt to classify the varieties of individual initiative, basing our classification upon the particular faculty involved in each. This treatment will serve a double purpose,—it will analyze the sources of initiative in the individual life, and it will also bring out clearly the significance of the individual as the initiator.

We note at the outset that what we call chance has played a considerable rôle in initiating new departures. Chance often gives the hint or points the way. An individual bent upon one thing, sometimes hits upon another. Marshall, when by mere accident he found gold in the flume of Sutter's saw-mill, in 1849, initiated the settlement of California and introduced a new chapter into the monetary history of the world. The Portuguese navigator, Cabral, driven by adverse winds from his course, discovered by accident the coast of Brazil and determined the colonization and history of the largest South American state. The chance occurrence of a Tartar war in the Crimea drove two Venetian merchants as far as China. Marco Polo accompanied them on a second voyage, and on his return immensely widened the geographical horizon of the West, and gave it its first knowledge of coal as a fuel, and of paper currency. Bessemer, experimenting in the manufacture of steel, by chance let a current of air play upon the heated mass of iron. To his surprise the surface was entirely decarbonized and a process suggested which the Hon. A. S. Hewitt estimates has saved this country a billion dollars

annually. This means a contribution to the wealth of the world of an amount greater than its estimated valuation fifteen years before Bessemer's birth.

The importance of accident is seen also in social contact. A chance utterance, a casual meeting, a book picked up at random, has often made a turning-point in a man's career, determining not only the plan of his action, and the momentum which he has brought to it, but also its success or failure. A text-book picked up by Flamsted, a school boy in the languor of sickness, turned him into a great astronomer. A ticket to a lecture made bookbinder Faraday the pioneer of electrical science. A gunshot wound led Loyola to found the Society of Jesus. The chance sight of fair-haired Anglican slaves in the Roman streets is said to have suggested to Pope Gregory the Great the conversion of Britain, whereupon he sent Augustine on the memorable mission to Kent.

Initiative may come also from outer suggestion. In the majority of those important initiations which are due to accidental discoveries, the significant fact is not so much what chance reveals, as what it suggests to a mind capable of swift inference. In 1713

a boy, whose task was to open and shut two sets of valves in order to secure harmony of action, noted the correlation of movements, and stretched a cord from one set to the other. The boy's object was to get time for play, but he had in fact discovered and applied the principle of automatic interaction in the steam-engine.

The invention of the cotton-gin and the spinning jenny illustrates a higher type of originality which brings knowledge and skill to make use of the chance suggestion. Leaving Connecticut to take a South Carolina school, Eli Whitney chanced to board with a certain Miss Green who was interested in discovering an economical way for cleaning cotton. One day after some conversation on the subject, Whitney found his mind involuntarily reverting to it and the idea of a machine suggested itself. His gin soon made cotton one of the staple commodities of the world. James Hargreaves, an English master-weaver, once came suddenly into his house and startled his wife, who was at her spinning wheel. In springing up she overturned the wheel but it kept whirling horizontally with its spindle upright. The idea flashed upon him of making one wheel operate

several spindles, so as to spin a number of threads at a time; and of replacing the spinner's fingers on the threads by bars to open and shut upon it. The modern spinning machines with their power loom, which have revolutionized the cotton industry, are but the perfected development of the spinning wheel.

Similarly suggested was the heat invention of James Watt. Employed as an instrument-maker at the University of Glasgow, he was one day sent to repair the model of a Newcomer fire engine. The faultiness of the engine fixed his mind upon securing an economy in the use of steam. Thereupon he constructed the separate condenser and enunciated the principle which is at the root of all engine-building—the necessity that the walls of the cylinder be kept at the temperature of the steam which is about to enter it.

Even more momentous both practically and scientifically was the discovery of the Leyden jar. Previous to 1746, electricity had interested a few men of science, but the impossibility of storing it had prevented them from investigating its nature or action in any fruitful way. In that year however

certain persons, among them Cuneus a pupil of the mathematician Musschenbroek of Leyden, were attempting without success, to make a bottle of water act as an electric accumulator, when Cuneus happened to grasp the bottle with one hand as he disengaged it from the conductor with the other. Instantly he received a tremendous shock, for his body had completed the circuit. "It was this astounding experiment," says Cavallo, "that gave *éclat* to electricity. Henceforth it was the subject of conversation throughout the city. Its study became general, and a greater number of spectators gathered at the house of the electricians than were ever before assembled to observe any philosophical experiments whatever."

In like manner the poet or the musician may see chance sights, or hear chance combinations of sounds, which suggest to him great verses or melodies. Chance combinations of colors, or groupings of objects, may suggest noble works of art to the painter or the sculptor. New knowledge is sometimes brought to light by hints which have stimulated the imagination of the observer. The fall of an apple revealed gravitation to Newton, who was the most learned as well

as the most original mathematician of his age. Casual information concerning the polarization of light opened to Pasteur the vision of a new process for curing disease. But it was Pasteur's imaginative genius, working in alliance with his previous acquirements, that enabled him to make this gigantic leap of inference which few minds could follow. Galvani discovered the direct electric current through the twitching of a dead frog's legs. The invention of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell is a still more striking example. Bell was a teacher of the deaf and had devoted much study to the mechanism of the ear. This suggested to him that sound waves, with the aid of electric currents, might be transmitted by precisely similar mechanism.

We have ascribed these initiatives to chance, but in reality chance only supplies the alert and gifted mind with its opportunity. Only a Faraday would be turned into a leader of science by happening to attend a lecture. Countless generations had seen apples fall, but only a Newton could infer the law of gravitation. The chance information which led Pasteur into his great line of investigation and discovery, would

have been for others as seed upon "stony places, where there was not much earth." Many of Darwin's facts had been known for centuries to farmers and breeders, to travelers and sportsmen, but it remained for him to read their meaning and to draw the inference of evolution. The more we investigate the history of intellectual progress, the higher looms the figure of the individual discoverer.

But plan and calculation are greater sources of individual initiative than chance or outer suggestion. And while one man's chance discovery may be more important to mankind than another's calculated discovery, yet because the result was due to chance, the former cannot be said to be as great as the man whose intellect devises what no one has thought of before. We therefore proceed to the more important initiatives, arising from direct calculation. The needs of social life are such, that men have to be constantly striving to meet them. Hence the individual is ever initiating new plans. This kind of initiative is seen in the operations of industry, in the scientific inventions that are especially prevalent in this age, in the appliance of education and in the new experiments in government. In the field of in-

vention only a few of the vast number of important individual initiatives need be mentioned. The invention of alphabetic writing is the greatest step ever taken in the history of civilization, and along with it deserves to be named the Arabic notation of numbers. In the same rank stands the invention of the printing press and of the steam engine. It would be hard indeed to calculate the social importance of such inventions as the locomotive, the cotton gin, the sewing machine, the mowing machine, the telegraph, or the telephone; or to predict the results to society that may come from the electric or the gas engine. Lord Kelvin made the long-distance submarine telegraph possible, and also made it safe to use the compass on vessels of iron and steel. To nullify his inventions would be nothing less than a catastrophe to civilization.

In the military world plan and calculation have developed thoroughly only in the century just past. Von Moltke's campaign of 1870 is the outcome. Remembering Napoleon's complaint that the misunderstandings of his subordinates had cost him much, Von Moltke resolved not only upon the long and careful training of the rank and file, but also

upon special instruction for his generals. The advance upon Paris, quite as ably executed by the subordinates as it was planned by the commander-in-chief, shows the results of the years of preparation and marks an epoch in the art of war. The great difference between the fortunes of France at Austerlitz and at Sedan was the difference between Napoleon the Great and Napoleon the Third. Sheridan even more than his men won the day at Winchester. It was Cromwell who conquered at Marston Moor and Naseby.

In the political world also the importance of the individual who plans and calculates is plain. Macedonia was no more populous and had no larger resources the day after Philip ascended the throne than it had before; but as a result of Philip's masterful grouping of the hill tribes into a national army, recognized as the Macedonian phalanx and of his skilful interference in the affairs of the Greek cities, it rose from a negligible barbarian principality to be mistress of the Greek world. The age was the same; Philip made all the difference. For two centuries the Franks had given no sign of strong vitality when the imposing figure of Charlemagne ascended the throne. Soon conquests

from the Arno to the Elbe were welded together. Soon Christian civilization was advanced into heathen Saxony and the fabric of the mediæval empire was constituted. To few personalities do so many modern nations turn in tracing the beginnings of their institutions and culture. After Charlemagne things tended to resume their former confusion. It was the great emperor who had made his age. Examples are countless. When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, he changed the destiny of Rome; that single choice gave history a new direction. Frederick the Great made Prussia, though smaller men had failed. Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation was a political initiative of far-reaching results. And who can measure the work of Hildebrand, Luther and Calvin, which had quite as much political as religious significance?

It is upon this method of calculated initiative that statesmanship depends. The triumphant career of Richelieu was due to his acting from the outset on a clear well-reasoned plan. He saw that in order to secure internal unity, the Huguenot princes whose claims were incompatible with governmental order, must be crushed; for religious equality under the conditions then existing in France meant

chronic civil war. But he also saw that a regime of persecution would impoverish the country and hence that the Protestants must be tolerated though without full recognition. In his foreign policy, in spite of the fact that he was a cardinal, he realized that North Germany was permanently Protestant, and he allied Catholic France with Protestant Sweden against the House of Austria. France and the world will never cease to feel the effects of Richlieu's initiative.

Another type of initiative is due to what may be called inner suggestion. Here, more fully than in calculation, the mind itself is the decisive factor. It does not rely on external means and stimulus, but draws upon its own resources. To the ordinary man experience suggests only commonplace associations. The original or resourceful man analyses his experiences, breaks them up into their elements, recombines them and fashions them into new plans or epoch-making hypotheses.

The force of inner suggestion may be illustrated in the case of the explorer. From the bold man who first crossed the mountain range which shut in his tribe, or the bolder man who first put to sea in search of unknown

regions, to Columbus and Livingstone and Stanley who opened America and Africa to the civilization of the world, and to the little group who dare the snows and ice in their perilous search for a passage by way of the North Pole, the history of exploration is one magnificent story of individual daring and perseverance in the face of dull conservatism. Even when the task has been accomplished, the age has often derided and persecuted the explorers, leaving it to posterity to do them justice. Yet without these men of daring initiative, the race would have made but the scantiest progress.

The same type of initiative may be seen in the world of science. Here the daily work consists of experiments and calculations, but the great hypotheses which give direction to such work and reduce it to its final order, have been the achievement of a few minds of highly original combining power. Newton's law of gravitation was the result of a daring analogy. Lyell, discerning in the present climatic influences on the earth's crust, the forces which operated in past ages, changed the theory of the earth's physical evolution. In like manner, Darwin applied the principles of breeding to all organic life.

He gave a new meaning to a mass of patiently collected facts by making a new connection between two different aspects of nature. No more notable instance of individual initiative in the realm of thought can be found in recent times. He has often been called the "Newton of Biology," and the comparison is just. To be sure, much of his specific teaching is obsolete, but the impetus he gave to biological study makes the publication of the *Origin of Species* a memorable date in the intellectual history of mankind.

The type of initiative which we are now studying is especially characteristic of the philosopher, whose problems take him beyond the range of perception and practical verification, and require him to mature his principles by the brooding of his own thought. Plato, Spinoza and Kant are intellectual leaders, not for anything they have chanced upon, not for anything they have scientifically calculated, but for what their brilliant and profound minds have constructed by means of the philosophic interpretation of human experience. Enlightenment comes only through the individual. Even when the growth of society reveals the need of change in creed or custom or legislation, the gifted

individual is necessary to perceive and express the need. "All that mass of developing knowledge and expanding ideas, which forms not only a part but the basis of all progressive civilization, and is commonly called by the general name of enlightenment, is produced solely by the influence on average minds of the minds that are decidedly exceptional." These great minds communicate their ideas and knowledge to the average minds, and settle for these what they shall believe and think. The ordinary mind is the pensioner of the few minds that are superior to it. The many are powerless unless here and there some thinker will think for them, and give them opinions which may form a mould or nucleus for their own. Le Bon has said that if fifty men of distinction in the varied life of the French nation were removed from French history and the results of their work were obliterated, but little would be left to France of culture or civilization.

Creative genius illustrates this type of initiative in its highest form. Genius is fed by unseen springs. Its thoughts originate in rich and profound experiences. Men of creative power sound depths which the con-

sciousness of ordinary men and even their own consciousness at ordinary times, cannot fathom; thus they bring to light great truths which have hitherto been hidden. They reveal to mankind the deeper tendencies of social and spiritual life. As Le Bon well says, a people is never led save by those who embody its dreams and faiths. The poet feels stirring within his soul the mighty passions of the race, and he gives them articulate expression. Such names as Paul, Augustine and Francis of Assisi, not to mention "the Name that is above every name," suggest to us the profundity of religious experience and its power in human history. So also in the field of religious activity and organization. Pope Gregory the Great, Luther and Calvin, Dominic and Loyola, Knox and Wesley, in the Christian church; Amos and Hosea among the Jews; and Mohammed, Zoroaster and Buddha in the non-Christian world are illustrations. These men and such as these have governed and directed the religious development of mankind, and civilization would be a very different thing if they had never lived.

Last of all may be mentioned a class of initiatives due to extraordinary suggestion.

No attempt is here made to account for these phenomena. They are noted merely as observed influences that have often been at work in the social system and have sometimes operated with powerful effect. Not infrequently (as in the well-known cases of Condorcet and Condillac, on their own testimony) the mind solves problems during sleep which it has been unable to master while awake. At other times the mind whether waking or sleeping, seems to receive impressions, premonitions and presentiments from some source that eludes analysis. This is attested by the common experience of mankind. A vague sense of impending danger has often led to a sudden change of plan and thus to an escape that has seemed miraculous. There are also notable instances in history which show that great results have followed from such mysterious initiatives. Xenophon says that it was a dream which inspired him, after the commanders of the Ten Thousand had been treacherously slain, to take the lead in extricating the Greeks from their perilous trap. It was Paul's vision on the road to Damascus which turned him into the most vigorous of the early missionaries of the Christian church. On the

eve of battle, the Emperor Constantine is said to have seen the Cross emblazoned upon the sky with the inscription "With this sign, conquer." Deeply moved, he vowed that if he conquered he would become a Christian. In other cases the individual seems to enjoy a mysterious guidance, or to be informed of coming events through visions. This faculty, if we may so call it, has not been confined to superstitious weaklings. It has dictated the careers of some of the greatest men and women the world has ever known. Augustine, Mohammed, Joan of Arc, Swedenborg, —all seem to have had mental powers that combined their experiences in ways indefinable to us and quite strange to themselves. They firmly believed their visions to be inspired. We are not bound to accept this explanation, but we cannot neglect such phenomena altogether.

We have now classified the sources whence individual initiative proceed. In every case, as we have seen, the initiator serves as an instrument in the hands of agencies greater than himself, and sets in motion forces far superior to his own. The man of original genius, in the happy phrase of Professor James, is a "releasing" force. Such men

are like the spark that explodes a powder magazine; or like the trigger, the linstock, or the button, that causes a battery to hurl death at the foe; or like the lever that lifts the floodgates of the reservoir or of the tide. They speak the word, they utter the thought, they do the deed, they create the vision of beauty, they incarnate the divine life; and in so doing, they release the pent-up energies of their fellow-men, they stir the soul, they set on foot undying movements. In the words of the foremost genius in the highest realms of life, himself the greatest initiator the world has ever seen, they make known the truth and the truth makes men free. And what is true of the man of genius, is true of every one in his place and measure. We all may become servants and revealers of the Highest, and by incarnating the divine life make the Divine credible and real to men. Thus we may join our initiatives to His, while He works through us all to will and to work for His good pleasure.

CHAPTER III.

DIFFUSION.

The social order forms a system in which we exist, and by which we come to ourselves and realize our plans. We are not passively borne along, but are active factors whose influence may be wide-spread. Some individuals have great influence which can be traced afar off in space and time, and which makes them marked figures in history; but every person, however insignificant he may seem, affects humanity's life and well-being. To Omniscience the universe contains an autobiography of every soul that has lived.

But if there is to be any effective and far-reaching influence, the nature of things must be such as to provide for it and make it possible. The system might have been so ill-adjusted to human nature and human needs, that no large life and no large range of influence would have been possible. Only a cramped and undeveloped existence could have resulted from such conditions. Pro-

visions in the nature of things which make for a large effectiveness may be called the mechanism of influence. They are not influence, but they are its conditions. They are the general social laws and facts, rooted in human nature, on which the possibility of influence depends. If it is asked how they come to exist, we may take them as facts of which no further account can be given or we may view them as a part of the creative legislation with which the world was provided in the original constitution of man and his earthly home.

The various ways in which the individual sends abroad his influence in the social system fall into more or less distinct groups or types. These are not so sharply distinct as to be mutually exclusive and yet are distinct enough to furnish useful points of view from which to study the problem:—Diffusion, Succession, Divergence, Convengence, Germination and Correlation. These represent various phases of influence; and which one shall be prominent depends to a great extent upon the degree of individual and social development. But these types are not the inventions of any individual; they spring out of the general structure of life as unfolded in the

social system. They represent the provision in the human constitution for a developed social and personal life.

We shall devote a separate chapter to each of these six types.

The simplest and lowest type of influence is Diffusion. A handful of meal consists of individual grains which may be counted with the aid of a microscope; but the moment one of them is touched by a particle of yeast, it spreads the fermentation to adjoining grains until the whole mass becomes a new product. So in human life a man's influence diffuses itself spontaneously and without conscious purpose, as if by a kind of social contagion.

Men are naturally social and communicative. They are interested in one another, and apart from some accidental hindrance, they delight to share their thoughts, sentiments and actions. With the eaves-dropper in the Roman play, though in a higher sense, they would say, "I am a man, and I count nothing human foreign to myself." Thus by the force of nature, without conscious purpose and often in spite of it mutual knowledge, sentiment and influence spread.

This type of influence is the lowest or most elementary of the six, in that it has

least thought and purpose in it. In the individual life it especially marks the period of childhood and undeveloped intelligence. Socially it marks a stage of civilization at which society is most loosely united politically, and least organized intellectually. But though especially prominent in the lower stages of development, diffusion is by no means confined to them. No social stage escapes it, or can dispense with it.

The mental basis of this type of influence is the social instinct, and especially that phase of it which leads men to imitate one another. Nature itself provides for this in the tendency to spontaneous imitation, without which no human society could originate or exist. Bagehot, in his "Physics and Politics," makes imitation the foundation of society, and Tarde says, "Society is imitation." This word of Tarde's is of course extravagant, as there is more in society than imitation; but beyond question imitation is one of the most important factors in founding, building and preserving society. In advance of knowledge and rational insight it binds men together in social groups and secures oneness of thought and feeling and custom, thus laying a foundation on which

a higher and more rational superstructure may be built.

The very fact that the method of Diffusion is connected in this way with the instinctive and elemental forces of our nature makes it of vast social importance. During the period of intellectual minority men cannot think for themselves, for they have not yet learned to *think* at all in any proper sense of the word. No society can be built out of such materials by appealing to the reason. During this period therefore men must live chiefly by instinct and impulse, and make progress less by rational insight than by hearsay and imitation. At this stage of civilization it is evident that the diffusive type of influence must work with great power.

But the imitative instinct does not cease to work when society has become fully organized. It becomes conscious and deliberate as reason develops. By imitation a child's impulses are so regulated, and his mental growth is so directed, as to bring him into harmony with the prevailing type of man in his community. By imitation the adult is gradually led to adopt the habits of his class or his calling. Thus is produced that essential oneness of feeling in the crowd, the

nation or the race, which makes possible the spread of influence in society. It is the imitative tendency that makes possible a common knowledge, common manners and a common ideal.

-Of course if imitation were the only factor in human nature it would be fatal to human progress. Society needs individuals who do not imitate but who make new departures and set new examples. When the individual has come to himself and is capable of independent thought, he may then subject the community itself to criticism and advance beyond it, so as to make a new contribution to the community's assets, but during the period of intellectual minority he must live by instinct and impulse, and he progresses less by rational insight than by hearsay and imitation. This is the counterpart in the mental and social world, of the herding instinct in the animal world.

The workings of the method of Diffusion are abundantly shown in everyday experience. The news of an accident is quickly circulated in any community, for each neighbor's *curiosity* prompts him to listen, and his *communicativeness* prompts him to repeat what he has heard. Thus the news of current

events spreads with astonishing rapidity. This tendency to diffusion is strengthened when the fact or idea has an appreciable value. The knowledge of the mariner's compass could not be confined to the country of the discoverer, for every sailor carried the information to the port for which he was bound. Gunpowder would doubtless have been kept secret had that been possible, but since for military purposes its use had to be taught to a whole people, other nations learned all about it. Scientific discoveries soon become common property, for science by its very nature and spirit is universal; it cannot exist without frank communication of facts and theories among investigators. Indeed the accepted phrase "civilized world" implies that within a broad and international society all useful ideas belong to everybody by a kind of right. Who would not be shocked at the thought of withholding any great truth from his fellow-men? The forces that make for diffusion are stronger than those that make for concealment, and they grow more and more powerful as civilization advances. "There is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed."

The diffusion of ideas is increased by the close connection of individuals. The massing of men in cities contributes to this result. Daily interchange of thought creates a like-minded community through which diffusion takes place with incredible swiftness and intensity. These effects have been heightened by modern facilities of communication which allow mind to touch mind and almost constantly through vast spaces. The newspaper aided by the telephone and cable has made the whole western world a "crowd." It sets all men thinking and talking about the same topics on the same day and creates the same emotions in nations separated by half the globe.

Diffusion of ideas becomes more complete with the growth of civilization. In the realm of art diffusion has made possible the advance of music from the horn and the tomtom, to the violin and the organ, and from the rude and tuneless chorus to the opera and symphony. It has raised painting and sculpture from rough copy-work to the creations of Phidias and Raphael. The example of great writers has made other writers great. Sallust and Tacitus imitated Thucydides; Virgil imitated Homer; Tasso

imitated Virgil. Cicero, Milton and Shelley confessed that they longed for the fame that had come to their predecessors. Such longing has made the world richer, wiser and better.

Still more marked is the tendency to diffusion in the case of the sensibilities. The joys and sorrows of life are more eagerly communicated than mere news or abstract ideas, and they meet with a readier response because of the emotion they evoke. Sufferings caused by an earthquake or a conflagration produce waves of sympathy that go through all the world. Physical things cannot be given away without loss to the giver, but there is a positive gain in sharing delightful sentiment with a multitude. This form of diffusion is based on fellow-feeling. Bentham's remark that no human being would so much as lift his little finger for you unless he saw his own advantage in it, is true only of the abstract, theoretical man of certain philosophers.

Human beings crave sympathy and are ready to be moved by the feelings of others. Even our intellectual pleasures are largely social. A poem or romance that expresses high-wrought feeling must be read aloud in

company if it is to be fully enjoyed. The larger the numbers, the more immense the emotional glow. Successive discoveries and inventions, in the progress of science from age to age, allow mind to touch mind and heart to touch heart at multiplied and varied points; thus the inter-communication becomes more responsive and the interest of all is increased. The more rapid also the means of communication and the more simultaneous the reception of tidings, the keener the interest. The surrender of Cornwallis to Washington caused great joy; the surrender of Lee to Grant caused greater joy. The news of the one made its way through a sparsely settled country, slowly and with long delays; the news of the other flashed over a great continent in an hour. A victorious people singing the *Te Deum* are fused into unity and brotherhood by the common sentiment which thrills every heart. At the death of Queen Victoria the entire British empire sorrowed as a single family for the loss of one who during a half century had embodied the sanest ideas of English life. Thus by force of our natural sympathy "the human heart by which we live," men unite into a common brotherhood, permeated by

the common thought and sentiment which diffuse themselves through all.

When thought and feeling rise to the higher plane of morality their diffusive power is still further augmented. Moral principles are more fundamental in human nature and more necessary to society than intellectual and æsthetic ideals. Society can do better with poor heads than with poor hearts. It can do without philosophy but not without morals; without inventions, but not without conduct; without a system of knowledge but not without a sense of duty.

Character is the greatest need of man. Moral feeling is the very life-blood of all society, even the most primitive. Righteousness and justice have always appealed to men with a force that could not be defied or mocked, and before these motives selfish interests must give way. Conscience in the long run, proves to be a most intractable faculty.

Mere thoughts or feelings do not extend far unless they are important in themselves; but when a moral principle is involved, conscience recognizes no distinctions; it cares not whether the interests involved are large or small. The moral law is undeviating in

its regularity and precise even in trifles: it may be broken but it will not bend. To ensure the well-being of society, certain rights between man and man must be preserved, and for this reason any new principle which exposes and condemns a wrong practice sooner or later obtains wide circulation. So long as the institution of slavery in the United States was debated as a mere political and economical question, it was so fortified by law and caste as to seem impregnable. It was only when people of the North saw fugitives pass through their midst by underground Railway and heard from the slave the meaning of slavery, that their sympathies went forth beyond the quiet home circles. Then came the conviction that the institution was a crime and must be destroyed. And in general when a thing is wrong sooner or later it must go. No induction from history is surer than this.

An astronomer sees disturbances in the heavens, reasons about them, forecasts, observes again and determines the place of an unknown planet; the orbit of that planet, once determined, is found to be fixed by virtue of the relations which the planet bears to other heavenly bodies. Ethical science in

like manner discovers a new principle of right social condition, and fixes its place in the ideal social order. It must abide there by virtue of its inherent relation to other principles; no convulsions in society or politics can ever disturb it. So it has been possible for individuals to ennoble the conduct and character of their fellows through their exalted conception of man's duties and opportunities, of his powers and ideals. Such has been the influence of writers like Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, Boethius and Thomas à Kempis. They have promoted justice and equity by setting a better standard of national right than mere predatory greed or irresponsible passion. They have given us a new and keener sense of universal brotherhood. They have furnished ideals and examples of character and conduct that appeal to our better nature, and thus have raised humanity to a higher level for all time. And so at every crisis, when man's feelings have been stirred by some wrong or evil, and their consciences roused to a vague feeling of personal responsibility, the man of insight who has spoken the right word or planned the true course or taken the lead in heroic action, has exerted incalculable influence. In a word whatever

the sphere in which the individual is active the effect of what he says or does may, by the process of diffusion, become as wide as the world.

Let us consider next the diffusion of actions. When we turn from the intellect, the feelings and the conscience of men to their actions, the significance of the individual comes out in a very striking way. Here we are not concerned with instinctive and unreflecting acts such as we discussed in an earlier part of the chapter. We are now to consider those higher forms of action, in which the imitation of an example results in a type of conduct—such conduct as is the expression of character.

Human nature is sound at the core and sooner or later chooses the best things. Hence it is that while exhortation is often weak, example draws men on. Hence the importance of concrete ideals and living examples which inspire to imitation while they rebuke by their lofty grandeur. Hence again heroes and saints and the story of their deeds, are among the most precious treasures of humanity. To fill the mind with patriotic memories is the best way to make patriots. Enthusiasm for the service of humanity is

kindled by knowing what the great and good have done and are doing to build manhood into its best estate. The supreme illustration of this is the Man of Nazareth. He did not say very much or live very long. But his life divided the ancient from the modern world, and makes the date of his birth the "year of our Lord," and the central point in history.

Heroic example appeals to the highest motives. When Aurungzebe chained his elephant's feet to the earth to force his guards to stand their ground; when Bernadotte flung his decorations into the midst of the enemy to shame his troops into charging and recovering them; when Washington remained within a few yards of the British batteries at Princeton to steady his men; when Tallien took his life in his hands and assailed the dominance of Robespierre and the Terrorists; others were fired to emulation.

A certain factor of intensity remains to be mentioned which profoundly affects the diffusive process. This is the factor of interest or excitement, and this in turn depends on many things, but especially on numbers or on the presence of a crowd. The factor of interest affects all the forms of diffusion

treated of, as a kind of variable coefficient; and the rate and intensity of diffusion varies accordingly. An excitement itself is purely an emotional condition, varying in quality and nationality with the ideas and principles to which it is attached, from mere lack of self-control to the exaltation arising from the highest spiritual conceptions. But in each case the excitement gives greater intensity to the mental action, and also greater diffusive power.

Diffusion under excitement has produced great national and international movements. When Joan of Arc appeared before the Dauphin Charles and his army, enthusiastic belief in her mission seized upon the clergy, the courtiers, the soldiers, the nation. The wave of patriotism swept all before it and forced the English from the heart of France. When Pope Urban preached the first crusade at Clermont, thousands who heard him at once took the cross shouting "It is the will of God." As they went home to make preparations, others caught from them the crusading zeal and the great movement of the West upon the East was precipitated. The rapidity and intensity with which human interests are roused finds illustration in the

progress of the great political ideas which underlie modern society.

For many centuries few of the inherent rights of man were recognized by European states. When at the end of the seventeenth century Fenelon wrote his "Telemachus" a mild ethical treatise in the guise of a story, and incidentally gave expression to the theory that kings were made for subjects and not subjects for kings, the courtiers of Louis XIV. were frightened at so revolutionary a doctrine. But the leaven eventually worked. America wrote a Declaration of Independence and enforced it under arms.

Then came the French Revolution in which the fountains of the social deep were broken up. The rising flood of the new thinking burst all the barriers with the force of a tidal wave and the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity spread over the civilized world. Forty years later another revolution in France, involving the defeat of the *Coup d'Etat* of 1830 and the deposition of Charles X. made itself felt across the Channel and helped to pass the English Reform Bill of 1832. It sent its thrill across the border and Belgium freed itself from Holland. It penetrated down-trodden Poland and forced the Czar

to keep his hold on its poor remnant, the Duchy of Warsaw, by fire and sword. Then came the French revolution of 1848, and again a similar tide of ideas swept over Europe. Hungary revolted from Austria. The Kingdom of Sardinia gained a parliament, which became the nucleus of a constitutional government for a later united Italy. There were revolutions in Germany and unrest was felt everywhere. Finally the recent spectacle of the peaceful and prosperous French commonwealth has by a process of diffusion powerfully advanced the growth of republicanism throughout the Old World.

The French revolutionary movement revealed the excitement of the mob but it showed at the same time the unselfish spirit of those who were eager for reform. Taine says, "The perpetrators of the September Massacres deposited on the Committee's table the pocket-books and jewels they had taken from their victims, although they could easily have made away with them: The howling ragged mob which invaded the Tuileries during the Revolution of 1848 laid hands on none of the objects of their wonderment, any one of which would have meant bread for many days." Still more striking

is the "Day of Sacrifices" in the Revolution of 1789. The Committee on the State of the Nation reported that chateaux were burning all over France, that salt ware-houses were being destroyed, millers hanged, tax-gatherers drowned. The Assembly listened in a sort of stupor, until the Vicomte de Noailles rushed to the Tribune and moved to abolish feudal rights. D'Aiguillon, next to the king the greatest feudal lord in France, seconded his motion, which was passed in a frenzy of self-sacrifice. Noble after noble rose to renounce his privileges, many begging themselves in their enthusiasm. The clergy vied with the nobility, and the Old Regime was outlawed in a single night.

In religious excitement there is an ecstasy that lifts the individual into a realm of larger interests. When Bernard preached the second crusade wives hid their husbands and mothers their sons, lest at his word they should forget home and self and join the enthusiastic defenders of the cross. When George Whitefield preached to the people of England in the open fields it was as if Heaven itself uttered its voice. He spoke with authority; he made real the scenes of the other world and he gripped the con-

sciences of men and women. Strong men cried out in their anguish of soul, women screamed and fainted; people were beside themselves as they faced the reality of the soul-life and saw visions of sin and punishment. Such experiences were common in the religious revivals of the eighteenth century.

The fact of excitement and its great diffusive power is largely a social fact. Of course an isolated individual can be aroused by his solitary contemplations but the great enthusiasms are social and depend on their being shared. We have in this fact a further illustration of the fact already dwelt upon, that man is essentially social and has his full human existence only in society. Men are not merely added together in society; they are intensified and transformed; they develop possibilities of which in their isolated existence they give little hint.

Manifestly, the rapidity with which diffusion works and the intensity which often marks its operations are facts of human nature. They involve great possibilities of evil but without them there could be no advancement. The poet, the orator, the reformer, who knows what is in man and can read the

signs of the times has tremendous power at his command. The world responds to every great soul that has a message to proclaim, whether that message is expressed in word or in heroic action.

Thus the great diffusive process goes on with increasing efficiency in the service of humanity. Material comfort spreads; the social order improves; knowledge grows; the thoughts of men widen and both social and individual ideals are elevated. The human lump is leavened. The contagion of progress spreads. Because of it man already has made mighty advances, and these are prophetic of better things to come.

CHAPTER IV.

SUCCESSION.

The second method by which individuals exert an influence on society is by succession through a single orderly series of units. Its operation may be illustrated by a familiar example. Couriers are employed to carry an oral message a long distance: the first courier travels a certain stage and gives his message to the second; the second passes it along to the third and so on until it reaches its destination.

The advantages of this method over diffusion are manifest. First, there is an established arrangement for transmission so that the influence is not haphazard but directed. Secondly, men are no longer to be regarded in the mass, and therefore a new importance attaches to the individual: he is selected to do a certain work, and is identified with that work. Thirdly, there is greater economy of effort; for since the integers are better organized and the force is exerted in a definite direc-

tion, more is accomplished by fewer individuals and with less expenditure of energy. Because of these three advantages the social operations of the individual have no longer the somewhat random character that marks the method of diffusion.

It is obvious of course that all personal influence is subject to spatial and temporal laws in some degree, for men live in space and time which are the great forms of human experience. Men stand in very complex relations to them and through them to one another. Spatial location, transmission and measurement, make up a very large part of theoretical and practical science; and they are fundamental factors in daily life. Travel and transportation and the finding of things and places come within their scope. Temporal measurement likewise and the adjustment of the present to the past and future, make up a large part of theoretical and legal science and enter profoundly into the world of custom, tradition and daily intercourse. Consequently society has developed an extensive spatial and temporal mechanism whereby man has mastered to some extent his space and time relations and thus has greatly extended his power over

nature and his influence in society. This mechanism is the subject of the present chapter. And first we consider the space mechanism and its social importance.

The race lives in a spatial world and it began at the human zero. From this point it had to find its way into the developed human life. It had the possibilities of humanity for its outfit, but none of them was developed. Now in such a world and with such a race, the supreme condition of any progress toward civilization is to form a means of location and of communication. Man must be able to locate things and places, to find them when he wants them and to go from place to place upon occasion. This is necessary for travel and for the transmission of goods, news, ideas and various forms of social influence and authority. There could be little civilization without roads and geography. This is so obvious now as to seem a commonplace. We are so familiar with the facts that we take them for granted and overlook the amount of thought and work they represent and also their great social importance.

Some provision for communication is found in the physical world itself. This is a place

of good fortune for civilization. Mountain ranges might have been so rugged and seas so stormy as to make travel possible only within narrow limits, in which case this earth would have had only barbarous tribes for inhabitants.

The uses which the individual can make of the successive method by virtue of his space relations are three: for communication, for guidance and for occupancy.

For the purpose of communication, nature is readily adaptable. Plains and mountain passes, seas and lakes and rivers have always served as avenues of migration and traffic. The earliest civilizations arose in the great river-valleys of the East. Up and down the Nile went the traffic of Egypt for every city and town connected with this artery of the nation. The Tigris-Euphrates valley made possible a homogeneous national life in the cities of Babylonia, and successive empires with their seats on one or the other of these rivers maintained vital connection with all parts of their immediate realm. Under purely natural conditions however the spread of influence is slow and uncertain and events occurring in one part of the country may remain for years unknown to another. Until

very recent times a packet of mail might take months to reach a foreign port, with the chances many that the vessel might sink on the way, or be captured by an enemy. On land, mail was carried by a succession of riders. But social advancement has not remained at the mercy of nature. Roads have been cut and paved, rivers bridged, mountains tunneled. Fresh in our memory is the accurate junction of the two arms of the Simplon tunnel, one stretching out from Italy, the other from Switzerland, to meet in the heart of the mountain. Steam and electricity have eliminated distance and minimized uncertainty. On our swift modern steamships the mails are sorted into their proper pouches, that on arrival in port they may be immediately transferred to railway trains and despatched to their several addresses without a moment's delay. So accurate has the system become that the loss of a mailpouch, except by theft, fire or shipwreck, is almost unknown and even a single letter, imperfectly and often illegibly addressed rarely goes astray. The same successive method facilitates communication by telegraph or telephone, at all hours of the

day or night and in every part of the civilized world.

Another example of the working of the successive method may be seen in the transportation of passengers and merchandise. Under primitive conditions commodities were carried over trails by single persons or relays or were floated down successive water-courses in hollowed tree-trunks or on rafts. Now we send goods from end to end of the world. A man may take a cab at his own door, drive to the railway station, travel thousands of miles by train and take another cab to his hotel. He is able to foretell within an hour or two his arrival at a place three or four thousand miles away. And travel by sea is not less perfectly arranged. Jules Verne's "Around the World in Eighty Days" was an improbable romance when it was written; but the trip can now be easily made in little more than half the time. The enormous extension of our spatial influence through the post office would have amazed Rowland Hill the introducer of penny postage into Great Britain. A glimpse into a single busy metropolitan office needs to be multiplied in imagination actually millions of times before we grasp the interchange of mail which takes

place daily within and between the nations of the International Postal Union. Telegraph and telephone are similar in their influence, and now that aerial navigation has proved possible an even greater triumph over space seems assured. By such developments a vast enlargement of spatial range and social effectiveness is secured, together with a very great economy of time and money.

Ease of communication and swiftness and certainty of transportation are the basis of all extensive commerce, without which man could hardly get beyond the limited operations of barter with his neighbors. It is the ready access to markets that gives land most of its value and that makes manufacturing on a large scale remunerative. Fertile soil in central Africa is worthless, and costly transportation is prohibitive. So it was with the vast Northwest after the American Revolution. In 1820 De Witt Clinton saw that an artificial waterway connecting the Great Lakes with the tide waters of the Hudson, would develop not only the new country but the state of which he was governor. Thereupon for thirty years the Erie Canal carried unchallenged the produce of the virgin prairies and New York rose from a mediocre

position to the rank of Empire State. Railroads and steamship lines are not commonly thought of as apostles, but certainly they are Baptist messengers before the face of humanity, preparing the way for great developments of trade, commerce and world-neighborhood which never could have existed without them and which would at once collapse if they were taken away. In India the railroad, by bringing all castes into contact, is doing much to break down the caste system. The proposed overland railway from Europe to India, cannot fail to be a great stimulus to the industrial development of the country. In our own country extension of the electric trolley system solves the problem of congested population in cities.

Conversely the importance of railroads and steamship lines is seen in the bad conditions which prevail when they are lacking. Without means of quick and abundant transportation, society is perpetually exposed to the ravages of famine. The famines in India years ago were so destructive because of lack of transportation. There was food enough in the country to feed the starving but it could not be brought in time to give relief. The ravages of the last famine were less

destructive mainly because meantime the railway system had been extended and thus food could be carried where it was needed. If our American transportation system were blocked for a few weeks, our great cities would soon be facing famine conditions. During the "Great Blizzard" no trains came into New York City for several days and certain main supplies like butter, eggs and milk were cut off.

The political importance of extensive and rapid communication is evident. No ancient empire attained to permanence and assimilated its dependencies to its own civilization until Rome stretched out her military roads. As troops and traders passed easily and quickly over them, Spaniards, Gauls, Greeks and Libyans became as Roman as the Italians themselves. For four centuries there was peace within the boundaries of the civilized western world. The lines of communication once broken, the disconnected fragments of the empire lapsed into disorder. Charlemagne, Frederick II. and Charles V. attempting to form a new empire similar to the old, met with failure largely because it was so difficult for some parts of their domains to communicate with other parts. Only in our own day

have well-known inventions made it easier to direct Indian affairs from London or Philippine affairs from Washington, than it was to police the Scottish border in the days of Prince Charlie. Even yet the re-creation of the Chinese empire waits upon good roads, highways, railroads and other means of communication and it is to provide these that the "reform party" is now busy. Next to a good financial system and a reformed civil service, improved means of communication is the most important of China's reforms and it is hard to see how she can emerge from her backward state until this need has been supplied.

Scarcely less important is the mechanism of communication in the intellectual world. In the previous chapter we have spoken of the diffusion of ideas and sentiments, but we did not point out that this diffusion depends for its range and rapidity on the mechanism of communication. The railroad and steamship make travel swift and easy. For a few cents the post office connects us with the other side of the earth. The telegraph reports from day to day all the important current events in the civilized world. In this way scholars and thinkers at once share one

another's ideas, the new truth quickly becomes a universal possession. Thus by this interaction thought is quickened and its results are spread. The same fact as before noted gives the social instincts a chance to act beyond anything possible to them with primitive means of communication. Humane feeling and action are conditioned by sympathy, and knowledge that sympathy exists depends on the mechanism of communication. Our sympathies are usually adjusted to action at close range. Whatever shortens the range by quickening the communication, extends the sympathy and thus develops humanity. Hence good roads, cheap and quick means of travel, the post office, the telephone and telegraph are veritable means of grace, in that they furnish the conditions of a higher and more effective humanity. One of the earliest empires, the Persian, maintained its ascendancy for hundreds of years as did Rome by means of its roads ramifying throughout the empire, over which passed post-horses and post-riders and along which hurried military forces needed at some distant point.

But the social significance of spatial relations is by no means exhausted in these

transmissive operations. Equally significant for civilization are those operations which enable us to locate and define particular spaces, and to determine their relations to one another with precision. This involves the sciences of geometry and trigonometry, with their practical application in astronomy, surveying and navigation, and their more refined and difficult application in the physical sciences. The significance of this mastery of space relations can hardly be overestimated. If we compare with civilized methods of living the rude life of the Indian, with his group of wigwams scattered far and wide, and with rough trails as his only means of communication it will be seen that the advance which civilization has made over barbarism has been due largely to the systematic fashion in which the surface of the earth has been laid out and located and made accessible. In civilized countries roads are so extensive that a man can without difficulty reach every nook and corner of the land. Again, definite boundaries to estates are established, thus creating property rights and rights of inheritance.

National surveys have mapped out every portion of the world in which they can be carried on. By the invaluable range system

of the United States, adopted by Congress under Jefferson's influence in 1785, Government lands are spaced off in lines of latitude and longitude and into blocks, the relation of which to each other can be expressed by the simplest numeration table. A stranger can start from a given point three thousand miles away and locate unfailingly the position of the obscurest farm he may wish to reach.

What is true of the mensuration and plotting of areas of land is true of the same thing at sea as made possible by the refined methods of modern mathematics. Indeed all forms of intercommunication between distant peoples are now dependent upon the charting and safer navigation of the waters which separate them. In antiquity the navigator was guided by the eye alone; by day he scarcely ventured out of sight of land, and at nightfall he sought safety in some harbor or inlet. In modern times, wherever civilization holds sway, a succession of buoys and light-houses enables him to follow the coast, night after night, with unerring precision. But all guidance fails him when he ventures far out on the open sea. The wake of the largest ship is soon obliterated. The utmost power of man cannot set up so much as a

beacon light in mid-ocean. At times the mariner enshrouded in darkness and tempest is utterly bewildered. But when the storm has subsided, chart, quadrant and compass enable him to fix the position of his vessel with certainty and to lay her course anew. Thus he is led as surely to his destined haven as if a cloud were his guide by day and a pillar of fire by night.

Turning to consideration of Succession in Time, we see that the social uses of time are no less important than those of space. Hence society has developed a time mechanism analogous to its space mechanism. Much of our activity has a spatial outlook, but even more of it has a temporal outlook, referring to things past, present or future. We can to some extent withdraw from or control our space relations but the time order moves on "the same yesterday, today and forever." We can change our position; we can seek a place that is to our liking; we can move from one country to another. But we cannot change our position in time; we must accept the age into which we have been born. We can choose the place where we shall live but we cannot choose the time when we shall live.

While all physical changes involve time, there are certain successive operations in which the temporal factor is of central importance. Thus the alternations of day and night, of seasons and tides, the series of days, months, years and the artificial periods adopted by historians—the so-called epochs and eras—all form successions by which we systematize our knowledge of the past and regulate our social life in the present.

As soon as society is sufficiently developed to need a record, a system of chronology comes into use. At first the calendar was based simply upon the traditional succession of rulers; then upon the years or the events of a king's reign. Later some real or imaginary point in the past was selected and time was reckoned from it. This is the triumph of the calendar system and marks the rise of a true chronology. Greece adopted as a starting point the supposed date of the first Olympic Games, 776 B. C.; Rome, the legendary foundation of the city, about 750 B. C.; Christendom, the supposed date of the birth of Christ; the Moslem world, the "Hegira" of the Prophet 622 A. D. Although in most cases, the date selected as a point of departure is based on no precise evidence, this

does not change the principle of succession or lessen the practical utility of the calendar.

The more complex society becomes, the more dependent it is upon accurate succession in time. The hour, of no importance to roaming tribes, becomes a necessity for employers and workmen. The minute is important in cookery, in the smelting of metals, the glazing of pottery and the practice of medicine. The seconds come into play with the development of exact science and much important work depends upon the determination of even smaller fractions than this.

Time not only contains its own internal succession, but it may also be regarded as either a terminal point or an initial point; terminal with reference to the past, initial with reference to the future. This is true for the abstract scientific conception of time as in astronomy, when we fix the times and periods of the stars and for the temporal relations of daily life as when the banker computes the time when loans and bonds fall due. It is this latter relation that concerns us. We may therefore study the social uses of Succession in Time under three heads:—fulfillment of the past, adjustment to the present, and determination of the future.

First, each man takes up the work of the past at the point where his predecessors left it. He is under an implied obligation to continue the work and to realize, as far as he can, the ideals of those who went before him.

This general fact of obligation to the ideals of the past underlies the oneness of humanity in its successive generations. The inherited wealth of all kinds stored up by the past, the inherited tasks with the implied obligation to work them out and the inherited social feelings are the beneficent bond of society. With this transmission of work goes also a transmission of ideas and experiences, often condensed into proverbs or maxims. Still current among us are sayings thousands of years old, like Hesiod's "Half a loaf is better than none," "Like mother, like daughter," "One sows and another reaps," "Who makes a trap for others falls into it himself."

Ideas of even greater importance are handed down in like manner. To their power and persistence are due all traditions and prejudices of race, nation, community or family; and on a larger scale, those inherited feelings which hold society together. The

tenacity with which we cling to the past is seen in the celebration of public and private anniversaries, gratifying at once to sentiment, pride and the sense of duty toward those who have created the present for us. Society, with its ever-shifting *personnel*, would quickly disintegrate but for such transmitted sentiments which strengthen the instinct of cohesion.

Similarly, each succeeding age lives under institutions which have in large part come down to it through a series of generations and which cannot be changed without great difficulty. So likewise the studies of one generation are largely those which earlier generations preferred, even if new ones have become relatively more important; nor is this to be condemned, for it maintains a continuity of culture which would otherwise be hopelessly broken. Thus the present is firmly linked with the past and cannot be separated from it without destruction. In many ages no more useful service can be rendered than the saving of the inheritance of the race from oblivion or from injury. During the Middle Ages it was the Byzantine empire in the East and the monasteries in

the West that preserved the monuments of ancient culture.

The very first condition of social development is an order of custom or precedent that can be depended upon. Such an order precedes statute law and is of much broader range. On this basis the great bulk of the world's work is carried on, quite independently of formal statutes. Soon, however, statute law is added to custom and precedent and the three together become an essential condition of civilized life. The corner-stone of all civilization is the principle that legal rights, whether customary or statutory, shall not be wantonly or capriciously modified. At every moment countless numbers of men are doing business and making and accepting promises because of their faith in the binding nature of a contract. Unless they could be certain that contracts would be enforced, business would be thrown into confusion and civilization would perish. But to a very great extent these fundamental obligations enforce themselves through public opinion and individual conscience.

Nor is it possible to disregard continuity and to revolutionize a people's laws by the mere enactment of a new code. Repeated

but fruitless attempts of codifiers to accomplish this end have shown that legal practices are determined by historical succession and cannot be suddenly revolutionized by individuals or groups. This is a lesson which theorists and reformers are slow to learn. Their tendency is to disregard history; they overlook the power of custom and the force of actual conditions, and fancy that anything and everything can be done by an act of the legislature.

Even within the field of statute law the force of precedent, that is, of obligation to the past, makes itself powerfully felt. Statutes have to be interpreted in the light of previous decisions. Thus the influence of the individual when he acts in accordance with the successive method sometimes appears in a striking way. It is well-known that the American Constitution was an ambiguous document as adopted and would not have been accepted otherwise; but the justices of the Supreme Court, especially Chief Justice Marshall, continually interpreted it in the national sense, and thus gave us a nation instead of a confederacy. The State-Rights doctrine was by no means without some foundation in the Constitution, but it

was eliminated, partly by decisions forming precedents, and partly by a military debate of four years duration. And as for the English Constitution, that is nowhere written and exists solely in a series of decisions and precedents, but these precedents make a very efficient constitution nevertheless. In religious matters, the part played by tradition has been of even greater importance than in law. The Talmud became to the Jews as binding as the Law of Moses; to the Catholics certain traditional writings have been deemed infallible. Religious traditions in both belief and practice and the fear that departure from them would be injurious to society have made religions the most conservative force in the world.

Society must always provide for the fulfillment of formal obligations. With industrial security in the earning power of money, enforceable laws for reclaiming it and honest and stable governments, the appointment of times in a distant future for maturity of debts or fulfillment of contracts or payment of legacies becomes more prevalent. Wills are often so drawn that the fund bequeathed must largely increase before payment and the actual carrying out of the testator's

plans be postponed for generations. Franklin's thousand pounds, bequeathed to Boston to be used when it had increased a hundred fold, has created at the end of a century the technical school which bears his name. The subject of individual and corporate debts need not be dwelt upon. In like manner, governments have taken just pride in fulfilling obligations inherited from the past. Alexander Hamilton's strong personality firmly established the credit of the United States when he induced Congress to guarantee the eighteen millions which represented the indebtedness of the individual states. Webster was no less ardent in urging that citizens be paid the French spoliation claims, even then of fifty years standing and his principles finally triumphed in the settlement of 1885. In 1832 England recognized the claims which ages of slave toleration had laid upon her and reimbursed the owners of the emancipated negroes. Very recently she has admitted the debts incurred in Ireland by seven centuries of landlord domination, and has at the national expense made it possible for the Irish farmer to become the owner of his native soil. For fifty years the United States observed the increasingly irksome terms of

the Clayton-Bulwer treaty until Great Britain at length gave her free hand in the construction of the Panama Canal.

It is to be observed however that the duty of fulfilling the ideals and obligations of the past is not without limitation. What might be called the duty of progress demands that we transcend the past by improving both its ideals and its practices. The importance of the conservative factor in society is manifest, but the proper ideal should be to hold fast all that is good and only that. But when conservatism is made to proscribe the better and to resist all change, then the duty of progress comes into play. Then it is that we must resist the past and introduce a new order. For tradition is forever falling behind the times, trying to put new wine into worn-out bottles, vehemently defending itself against dead enemies, blind to present issues and future perils. Even the duty to pay the debts of the past can not be affirmed as an unconditional obligation. There might conceivably be a carnival of spendthrift waste in a community and a resultant mortgaging of the future which would become too heavy a burden to be borne. The deepest obligation of the community in this matter is to

present and future humanity and not to the past. The history of the church in respect to property shows that circumstances may arise where the rights of humanity take precedence over formal rights of property. The difficult licensing problem in England with its conflict between vested rights and the desire to promote sobriety in the community is a case in point. The laws forbidding long entail of property are another illustration. National agreements so far as they are concrete, cannot be made absolutely binding forever, and international treaties must provide for modification and abrogation.

The second special use of Succession in Time consists in adjustment to the present. Every man must conform to the time-table that his contemporaries follow. Religious custom, the oldest of communal interests, shows the first recognition of the importance of time-routine. Indeed one of the original purposes of the calendar was to regulate the services of religion. Babylonia and Egypt first used celestial observations to arrange the festivals of the gods, and holy days and sacred anniversaries are still matters of much significance in worship. In the familiar concerns of domestic and social routine we must

arrange our lives by the hour hand of the clock; often by its minute hand. Every miner in the union had to drop his pick at a given minute when John Mitchell gave the signal for the great coal strike of 1902-3. In the business world, regularity and promptitude are increasingly important; and the adjustments of time become even closer and more exact. A man's wealth may be swept away by a financial crisis precipitated by another's neglect to meet his obligations on time; and in the closing hours of the stock exchange vast fortunes often hang on the issues of a moment. National events have been similarly conditioned. Hobson, as he went up the Santiago channel anxiously counted the five minutes more or less which would sink his freighter where it might bar the escape of the Spanish fleet. Saratoga, the decisive battle of the American Revolution Burgoyne had to fight alone, because the clever plan of the British war office, thrust into a desk by a secretary hurrying to his holiday, reached Clinton too late for him to perform his critical part. This growing importance of accuracy tends to multiply critical moments when, as in operating

railway trains, if exact coördinations are not made, the results may be disastrous.

But the chief significance of Succession in Time lies in the fact that it enables us to determine the future. The system of natural law in the physical world of course carries the results of many of our actions over into the future, as when we cut down a forest or drain a swamp or otherwise alter the face of nature. But we are considering social effects rather than physical changes. In the social field, then, the same order of custom, tradition and positive law which we have already discussed makes it possible for us to project our influence into the future. This order fixes expectation, prescribes conduct and provides the general social bond which unites successive generations in one common humanity.

The determination of the future thus arising may be informal or formal. It is informal when a present intention is left for fulfillment at the will of a later generation. It is formal when provision is expressly made for its realization. In either case the practical effect is the same: the act of the individual becomes binding on the future, of course within the limits of good sense and public policy.

An example of the informal type may be seen in the inauguration of new political policies for posterity to carry out. Such was the formulation by President Monroe in 1823 of what is known as the "Monroe Doctrine." This has become a part of the political creed of this country and through it the present recognizes the authority of the past. Until very recently the far-reaching importance of the Monroe Doctrine was not understood. But it has won an established place in our foreign policy; and hereafter no statesman of any party will challenge its force in shaping the relations between Europe and the United States. The same is true, in a lesser degree, of the free-trade policy of England, which has become not only an economic belief but also a political instinct that Protectionists find it extremely difficult to modify. The growth of the sentiment in favor of international arbitration affords another example of the informal type. To the Hague Tribunal and the Interparliamentary Union we owe the crystalization of the desire for peace; and upon their decrees and policies will depend in great measure the history of the world for the next few centuries.

Thus in this informal way influence extends in time somewhat as we have seen it extending in space. Customs are formed, public opinion grows, precedents are established, expectations become vested rights, beliefs harden into creeds, religious practices develop into liturgies; and these things impose themselves inevitably upon the future. The precedents made by the past bind us and the precedents we make bind the future.

Under the head of formal determination of the future, the most familiar example and the most important socially is the business contract whereby the parties bind the future within certain limits, fixed primarily by custom and later by law. Such contracts, when made by enduring bodies like corporations or institutions or legislatures, may remain in force for very long periods, unless they run counter to public policy or unless changed conditions bring them into obvious conflict with the common good.

Sometimes such contracts blend with less formal obligations; as in the case of the cathedral of Milan, where successive generations for six hundred years honored their implied duty to carry on the work and made long contracts, each in its turn.

Under the head of formal determination of the future may be mentioned also the transmission of titles, estates and family honors. Historically this has had enormous significance in human society. A Russell, a Cavendish, or a Spencer in England; a Montmorency, a Broglie, a Motier in France; an Andressy in Austria; is born with a powerful claim to public position. Usually in order to retain this advantage the descendants must in some measure justify their claim. Still it remains true that the eminence of their ancestors has given such men special privileges which society does not disregard without strong reasons. The right of bequest and inheritance is constantly playing a larger part in society as more and more persons are able to avail themselves of it. It frees many of the rising generation from severe economic struggle and makes possible a larger culture and a greater social service. True it may also foster idleness and corruption; but unless the world has been moving in the wrong direction since civilization began the good outweighs the harm.

Legislation in general is chiefly occupied with formally determining the future. When wise it is a great blessing; when unwise it

is a curse. Nations have never been taxed rich, but they have been taxed poor. Legislation may decide whether a people shall flourish or decay. Hence there is a growing tendency in political science to inspect more carefully the laws which determine the future and to limit their scope. What has already been shown to be true of customs and traditions is also true even of statutes and legal formulas. For example, laws of bequest and inheritance are being modified. The right of entail is being limited to a short period. Charters of institutions bind the future but not unconditionally. And statutes themselves are subject to repeal under changed conditions. The same is true of international treaties which may profess to be forever binding and yet are set aside upon occasion.

Such facts do not disprove the importance of law and custom and contract; they merely show that such things are important only for what they help us to do and can never be raised into absolute and everlasting obligations. The extent to which one may be allowed to bind the future is an unsettled problem in both law and ethics. To forbid it altogether would destroy social continuity.

To make it absolute would give the "dead hand" a fatal grip.

In essential and fundamental matters the future could not throw off its obligations to the present if it should try. But in minor matters each generation must decide for itself where the lines should be drawn. The present must not mortgage the future too heavily; and the future must not repudiate its obligations lightly or on frivolous grounds.

To sum up: the individual finds himself, his property and the objects of his interest in the midst of social arrangements of time and space which, by nature or by the will of those who have gone before, have obtained a certain degree of fixedness. This however adds to his individual responsibility and importance, rather than diminishes it; for although he must in a large part take these arrangements as he finds them, yet they readily lend themselves to his designs and become the media of his influence. His life gains symmetry and he achieves character according as he adjusts his public and private plans and ambitions to the social order already established. That the method of succession seems to affect the routine of life, rather than its spontaneous activities and

higher ideals, should not blind us to its vast importance. Much of the efficiency of civilized life is due to succession, for it is by the transmission of accumulated knowledge and experience that original conduct becomes possible and that noble ideals are capable of fruition.

CHAPTER V.

DIVERGENCE.

Diffusion and Succession are the elementary and fundamental types of influence. They are the foundation of all the higher types and reappear in them. But as society develops, social action passes into more complex and more rational forms. In this way the diffusive and successive types of influence pass into the divergent type, which shows an advance in the systematic control which is its chief characteristic.

In the social system as we have seen human nature itself provides for the formation of groups, social, civil and political; and as society progresses these groups multiply and become centers of radiating influence. An ungrouped mass of human beings could not exist even as barbarians; and the variety and complexity of the social group form a sort of register for the progress of civilization.

This tendency in human nature is supplemented and directed by various physical

peculiarities of the earth itself. Fertile plains, convenient harbors, coast lines, mountain ranges, river courses, mineral deposits and many other features of the earth's structure have much to do with fixing the groupings of society. The relation of the earth to man as a pre-condition of civilization does not contain a full account of human history, but it furnishes a very important chapter. The location of most of the cities of the world can be traced to some favoring physical circumstance which gave that particular site preeminence over other places.

In this world then grouping must take place, and influence will diverge to correspond. City groups, tribal and political groups, industrial and religious groups, will form a necessity of human nature under existing conditions, and each of these will become a center of radiating influence. For such influence simple diffusion and succession are not enough. Neither of these types, or both of them together, provide for that conscious direction and control of influence which is necessary for the best social result. When they are raised to the plane of consciousness and are used with reference to ends to be reached, we have arrived at a third type—

that of divergent influence. This is really only a higher plane of diffusion and succession or else they are lower types raised to a higher power by an infusion of choice and control; but it is sufficiently distinct to deserve separate treatment. This higher phase however is necessary to any worthy human development. Man can begin with the instinctive and spontaneous activities of his nature, but these reach no great result until they are subjected to conscious and rational direction.

The important fact in divergence is that social centers form and that influences diverge accordingly, so that the possibility of control is greatly increased. A power located at such a center may send out influences far and wide along divergent lines and it may also control them so as to make them much more effective than they would otherwise be.

Now the effectiveness of divergence depends upon the grade of social organization. Divergent influence would have no such range in Central Africa as in the United States, nor in an unorganized barbarian group as in the highly complex society of the modern world. But as social grouping and ease and extent of travel increase, the pos-

sibilities of divergent influence increase in proportion. Extension of commerce, cheapness of transportation, industrial and commercial organization and combination give opportunities of influence unknown and impossible to earlier social stages.

In the first place then divergence marks a distinct advance over the methods already studied, because its control over the forces of the system works economy of the force expended. A system operated by water-power for example may be so regulated that if the mill closes for repairs, its supply of water can be stored for future use or diverted to other mills. Similar economy is practicable in the case of human energy. One business head, by attending only to such larger questions as the finding and developing of markets and by delegating authority to capable subordinates, can manage an enormous plant. This use of intermediaries works economy in the quality as well as in the quantity of force, for it allows of gradation and the employment of men with different talents. In Succession, the integers all stand on the same plane and have the same responsibility; in Divergence on the other hand the

central integer holds a unique position of great power.

Control also secures uniformity in the results accomplished. The individual at the center of a divergent system can remain in effective contact with distant and detailed operations and hold them firmly within the scope of his plan. He can be sure of the outcome by simply seeing to it that each force does its appointed work at the proper moment; and minor agencies can be so distributed that the places and even the times of their activity are exactly determinable. If several mines are to be fired at the same moment, all the sappers and miners concerned must have instructions from headquarters.

A further advantage of the divergent method is that it provides for the spread of influence in an orderly manner. Power through divergence equals that through succession multiplied by the number of lines which radiate from the center. Furthermore, the scope of influence increases with the distance from the point of origin, for the lines not only spread more and more as they lengthen but as in the example of the water-system they ramify indefinitely. Thus a strongly centralized industry like cotton-

growing or the production of oil may exert an influence that is practically world-wide.

We now pass to consider the forms of divergence. In the simplest type of this method the divergence is unorganized; the center serves only as a source from which objects of social influence are distributed. A great commercial port sends out its merchandise along well-defined trade-routes to all quarters of the world. The shippers determine the amount, the route and the destination, but the freight retains no binding connection with the center of distribution and the center has no direct control over the purchasers. In this case, the individual exerts merely initial control over the operations of the system. A great fair establishes a trading system in Arabia, and from this center of divergence for the scattered, isolated people of the country go out minor streams of traffic and more important still new information and ideas that abide and that broaden the horizon of many a lonely dweller by some green oasis.

More important is the distribution of thoughts and customs. This is seen on a small scale when a social group disperses at the close of some meeting of unusual charac-

ter. The members of the group return to their several homes taking with them new ideas which they have received. The Bible Society in Constantinople takes advantage of chance gatherings in the city to distribute to the visitors copies of the Bible, which thus pass where no missionary ever goes. In early civilization, the distribution of culture was largely after this fashion. Strangers from a distance met at the trading posts and along the routes of traffic, and profited by an exchange of information. Thus arts and sciences, knowledge and invention, myth and folk-lore and moral ideals were mingled, enriched and redistributed, to form the beginning of the great fabric of world-knowledge, world-skill, world-literature and world-ethics.

On a somewhat higher plane stand periodic radiations. When the divergence takes on a periodic character its power is increased. Steamship companies come to establish periodical times for sending out merchandise, mails, tourists and emigrants from certain ports. And the prestige of these ports is greatly increased by regular recurrence of these outgoing influences.

A still greater center of distributive influence is the settled community; enduring as it does from generation to generation it includes and transmits to its surroundings many social interests, impressing upon them its characteristic stamp. Other things being equal, the larger the center of population, the greater its influence. But other things are not always equal. Some cities gain influence because they are the natural centers of thickly settled regions or because they lie at the crossing of great avenues of trade. This strategic advantage is further increased when along the divergent lines of transmission there are sub-centers which mediate the influence. Thus every large city of the present day is surrounded with important suburbs which serve as minor points of divergence for the storage and local distribution of its power.

The city is a source of strong and incessantly radiating influence for the towns and villages that surround it. Its life is forever affecting the country by a process of divergence. In some matters this divergence takes place through an unconscious absorption of the tone which prevails in the city. This is seen in the way the villages reflect the city's

state in art, music, painting and sculpture; take the same attitude towards literary and scientific culture and adopt the same fashions, manners and customs. In some other matters however the divergence takes place through conscious imitation by the villages of the principles, standards and methods of the city. Then a change in the business policy of the city leads the villages to infer that the change is wise and to adopt it.

Sometimes a particular city may acquire world-wide influence in a special interest: London and New York are the great money centers of the world. Their commercial influence is immense and their financial decisions are felt everywhere. What Paris decides upon in matters of dress become sooner or later the standard for many different races in widely separated communities. The very mention of such names as Babylon, Athens, Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, Florence and Cordova reminds us of the profound and widely divergent influences which these cities, as great centers of learning, art and commerce, have spread abroad and the large part they have played in creating and sending out cosmopolitan culture. The founders of great cities therefore have had tremendous

influence upon civilization through this fact of divergence. We may instance Alexander, who founded Alexandria; Seleucus who founded Antioch, once the capital of the East and the seat of the first Christian church; and Constantine who gave his name to one of the greatest cities of the world.

Yet though every city has done something for civilization, great world-centers that have made vast contributions to human welfare have not been numerous. When we try to recall the names of centers that have sent abroad profound influences and have played very conspicuous parts in the history of cosmopolitan progress, we can think of only a few distinguished names: Athens was the great center of philosophy, art and culture; Rome, of legal justice and equity; Jerusalem, of religion.

So far we have studied these forms of Divergence in which outgoing influences are relatively unorganized. There is however another group of divergent processes in which the individual at the center serves as a commanding head and maintains unbroken connection with the subordinate agencies in the system. This group includes two types which we may call association and incorporation.

In the associative type the system is organized only to the extent of being united. The individual at the center is entrusted with a kind of temporary chairmanship in order that he may preside at meetings and carry out the wishes of the members. The associates are subject only to a joint-control founded on a community of interests. Thus when a few congenial persons form a club for social enjoyment, their association will by method of divergence tend to create a spirit of sociability in the whole neighborhood. Among political associations of this nature none has made its influence more felt along the divergent lines than the Jacobin Club of Paris in the early days of the French Revolution. Though merely an unorganized debating group, it served as model for similar clubs throughout all France, each in full sympathy and immediate communication with the mother body. As a result, the vigorous debates at Paris were carried along many divergent lines at these local centers and became one of the most powerful influences in moulding the thought and action of the Revolution. Association for coöperative industry—a feature of the present age—or for reading or debate are further examples of this type. On a

higher plane is association for the purpose of philanthropy, art, culture and moral reform. An instance of this is Social Settlement. From such centers of intellectual light and moral life, good influences radiate in all directions and work powerfully to uplift the entire community. Thus this type comprises a large number of the lighter matters of social interest, which are nevertheless of vast importance in forming the groundwork of social progress.

It is only in the incorporative type however that the peculiar virtues of the divergent method are fully realized. Here a responsible head directs the entire system. Exercising the highest degree of control, he can achieve far reaching results with the minimum of waste.

This has become a commonplace of economic doctrine. This fact explains the advantage of business combinations, either in limited corporations or in the larger combinations known as trusts. Such combination results in greater unity of action and more economical production and distribution. It is in the corporate type of action that the peculiar virtues of the divergent type of influence are fully realized. Such headship is the very life

of all industrial groups and without it labor would be relatively impotent. This fact is always overlooked by those who fancy that hand labor is the source of all values; whereas in truth neither labor nor capital can accomplish anything of magnitude without the organizing and controlling mind which is the soul of all the larger social and industrial operations. The organizer and manager are of ever-increasing importance in the modern world. The immense social significance of the financial, commercial and industrial combinations cannot well be overestimated. What is done by great financiers in such money centers as New York, London and Paris carries weal or woe to the ends of the civilized world. The decisions of the head of a great manufacturing company may find their echoes in the forests of Central Africa; and the establishment of a steamship line may mean the beginning of civilization to a great country. The decisions of the presidents of such great corporations as the United States Steel Corporation and Standard Oil Company are world-wide in their effects. Nor is this true only in times of industrial peace. In the periods of stress and strain a great organizer can step to the front as did

Mr. Morgan in 1908 and restore to the frightened business world a sense of security.

Outside the industrial field, the most striking illustration of the corporate type is the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman hierarchy is perhaps the greatest single force which works by divergence. The Pope is the controlling influence in a vast system whose representatives (all obedient to the central authority) are active in every part of the world.

But in considering such cases, we should never forget that the commanding personality at the head of any divergent system has a representative as well as a personal function. He controls its operations in the light of general ideas and for the practical good of all. Headship therefore is not opposed to social welfare. The evolution of society naturally raises certain men to positions of authority which are theirs by right, because they alone can fill them. Such an individual may be no stronger physically than any one of those whom he commands; but his mental and moral powers are sufficient to dominate the actions of all. The interests of each and all are not endangered by this tendency. Rather they are guarded and fostered by it, for without

such controlling individuals life would be headless and ineffective. No great enterprise could be undertaken and even democracy would lack the power that guides it.

The corporate type of divergence appears in its most striking form in government itself. A private corporation always originates in common interest and joint initiative, but government maintains its control over forces which are sometimes unwilling to submit. It represents the consent of the governed only in so far as these recognize the need of some authority to maintain order; and the general good may require such an authority long before the mass of men desire it. Efficient government therefore demands a strongly centralized control, especially when the integers of the system are scattered and local administration is feeble and poorly organized. Such control, to be sure, may be misused or misapplied, but when it is exercised for the good of the country as a whole, it frequently brings about a national regeneration. A remarkable instance of this is the beneficent rule of Lord Cromer in Egypt, under which the people are recovering from centuries of poverty and oppression. They are becoming prosperous farmers and workmen, whereas

before they were unenlightened peasants; not a few who could never have been anything but fanatical fighters, have been trained to become brave and efficient soldiers. The work of Porfirio Diaz in leading the Mexicans from civil discord to settled constitutionalism is of a similar character. From the President at Washington there radiate in all directions countless economic, military and other influences affecting nearly one hundred millions of people, of different colors, races and creeds, and in all stages of civilization, from the savage of the Philippines to the man in the forefront of culture and Christianity. Most centrally and logically organized of modern governments is that of France. Nowhere else does each local center feel so intimately and decisively the action of the national executive. As soon as it had been decided at Paris that the state would resume possession of its church property and grant the use of it in future only to certain religious associations, an order to this effect was transmitted by the Minister of the Interior to each of the prefects who are at the head of the eighty-six departments. They in turn passed it on to their subordinates, the prefects of the arrondissements. They communicated it to the mayors of the com-

munes through whom the order was given effect. By the logical steps of a perfectly divergent method every order of the central government operates speedily in every hamlet in France.

The influence of an individual may pass beyond the bounds of national life. International policies are growing in importance each day. For a new departure, caused by the influence of one person, has sometimes not only reversed the policy of nations, but the practice of mankind. In former times, prisoners of war had no rights; they were robbed and murdered at the caprice of their captors. In a small town in Holland an earnest scholar, studying to abolish this atrocious custom, was led to frame a system of international law founded on equity. An exile from his own land, he became a law-giver to all nations and wrote the Magna Charta of the world. The Hague tribunal is the outcome of his effort, and it is the beginning of the poet's dream of a federation of the world.

This tribunal is still in its incipient stage, but it is destined to become an organized arbiter of nations. Grotius was king among kings and mightiest of them all. What he

dictated sceptres have always respected. The uplifted arm in the hand of victory dare strike no farther than he has prescribed. His pen is mightier than the sword. This principle is destined to control war, and eventually to suppress it. In the coming ages the foremost man in the organized forces of the world will be the president of this tribunal who shall give a casting vote for permanent peace on earth.

The bearing of all these facts upon our fundamental thesis of the importance of the individual is manifest. The evolution of society creates a larger and larger number of divergent systems and necessitates an ever-larger social control. Such machinery of social control is rapidly increasing with the advance of civilization. There will be greater and greater demand for men who can exercise power at the centers of divergence. Instead then of having less chance for power with the advance of civilization the individual will have vastly more. Knowledge, ability, and character are at a constantly growing premium. The opportunities of the individual are ever multiplying if he only knows how to grasp them.

CHAPTER VI.

CONVERGENCE.

The method of Convergence is, as its name implies, the direct opposite of the divergent method. It includes those forms of social action in which the forces spring from a variety of sources and meet at a focal point. The individual achieves his results either through the combined effort of himself and others, or by acting upon others brought within a narrow and crowded area and by controlling the convergent forces so as to use them for his own ends. Convergence marks an advance over previous methods because of the intensifying of force, the improvement of integers (the individuals) and the greater opportunity for leadership.

First, the concentration of forces at a single point saves friction and by enabling every factor to count, it is practically equivalent to the creation of new forces. Thus it enables small talents or slender means to share in a great result and much enhances the impor-

tance of the average man. The Three Hundred at Thermopylae could withstand the Persian hosts because their strength was concentrated in a narrow pass. Aliens in race or religion do no harm in a state so long as they remain scattered; but once brought together, they may become a grave menace to the public welfare.

Secondly, while in Divergence the integers are merely rearranged, in Convergence they are improved. If social beings are to coöperate, they must adjust themselves one to another. Hence convergence implies more than mere aggregation; it means also a progressive combination and union into an organic whole; and with such organization society gains in quality and power. The value and efficiency of each member is increased by common knowledge, mutual emulation and social discipline. The riff-raff enlisted in the English forces in the eighteenth century, which Wellington called "the scum of the earth" was made over into the armies that conquered India and shattered the empire of Napoleon.

Thirdly, control of convergent operations calls for a higher order of leadership, because some unforeseen force may require a readjustment of the whole system at an instant's

notice. The man of resource, who is always ready to utilize whatever forces may flow in at the critical moment, is now in demand. Unusual delay or an accident may disarrange all schedules at a railroad terminus, but a capable Superintendent quickly brings order out of confusion by his ability to effect a readjustment. Convergent forces at the command of a leader develop his natural abilities and give him complete control over the men who keep the forces in operation.

Convergence and Divergence are plainly complementary. For convergent forces have divergent effects; indeed they may converge simply for purposes of future divergence. In our own day the convergence of so many alien peoples at our ports of entry gives rise to grave social problems and affords opportunity for great influence. Baron Hirsch founded a colony at Woodbine New Jersey where newly arrived Jewish immigrants are temporarily settled until they get knowledge of our language and institutions and learn improved methods of agriculture and manufacture. Then they are sent to various parts of the country. In such cases the central operator wields the united powers of both methods. The trader controls both the in-

coming and outgoing of his goods. The general collects his troops in camp; and then sends out detachments to different fields of operation. "All roads lead to Rome" but the same roads led out from Rome and established its authority.

Convergence like Divergence may be either unorganized or organized. Unorganized convergence appears in the way produce flows into the markets of a large city or commodities are received at a seaport. The massing of the raw materials of trade and manufacture, in New York is an example on a gigantic scale. In 1900, such materials to the value of nearly \$500,000,000 were brought thither from every quarter of the globe.

Unorganized social convergence is seen in the crowds attracted by such casual interests as a fire, a procession or an accident. These gatherings however, are seldom stable enough to accomplish anything of permanent value and what they may accomplish can be neither predicted nor calculated. One crowd is transformed into the mob that sets on foot a revolution, another serves only as a market for the street vender.

More stable and effective social groups are formed by festivals. The performance

of the Passion Play at Oberammergau gathers together every ten years an assemblage which by its artistic and religious enthusiasm helps to maintain and popularize sacred drama. Among the Greeks a periodic assembling of great numbers at the Olympic games was the most striking evidence of national spirit and gave to the athletes, poets and sculptors their best opportunity for widespread influence. Greatest of all such festivals is the annual gathering of pilgrims from all over the East pouring by caravan, rail and steamship route to Mecca, for a common expression of religious loyalty at a common shrine. From fifty thousand to three hundred thousand men, women and children, go annually on pilgrimages to the great shrine of Juggernaut. And although some ten thousand of them die on the road from hardship or cholera or starvation, the pilgrims feel that their elevation of soul is not too dearly purchased. "I have met many there" writes Sir William Hunter "who seemed very near to God."

Still more permanent are the social convergences brought about by a great leader, although these have no existence apart from him and are likely to be limited by his life and

personal influence. A great thinker or a great artist will gather round him a circle of students or influence a scattered body of admirers, so that master and disciples become a new center of culture. Thus originated the Greek Schools of Philosophy. Socrates by the searching and stimulating questions he put to the Athenian youth drew them about him and set the example which Plato and Aristotle were not slow to follow. When Abelard began to lecture for himself, students flocked to him from all parts of Europe. In their eager desire to share his intellectual treasures and gain the power of his incisive logic they endured manifold hardships, slept out of doors in all kinds of weather, lived on poor and scanty food. The "school" had no fixed local habitation. Where he moved it also moved. When he ceased to lecture its members dispersed. In our own day another school, quite as distinct, has been formed by the followers of Tolstoi, scattered all over the world.

The place of the city in the civilization of to-day illustrates the influence of convergence in all its varieties—organized and unorganized, purely spatial and more definitely moral and social. Indeed cities being per-

manent centers of population, have always been peculiarly important as points of convergence. They have arisen as the result of different social demands—the need of defence perhaps or industrial coöperation or the desire for common worship. Or on the other hand the site may have been arbitrarily chosen by some ruler, as was the case with Constantinople, Antioch, Berlin and St. Petersburg. Sometimes the location afforded the handiest market for a district of exceptional fertility or of mineral resources. Frequently the site was selected for its strategic advantages. Thus Ravenna on the Adriatic, just below the southern mouths of the Po, was protected by the miles of shallow water that separated it from the sea. The narrow and tortuous boat channels leading to the city were marked out by poles which could be pulled up when hostile vessels appeared. Venice owed its origin to similar causes. Old Mycenae was well situated from both the military and the commercial point of view, for it dominated the land route from northern to southern Greece. The commercial power of Carthage was due to the fact that it commanded the passage between the eastern and western Mediterranean. Mar-

seilles owed its importance to a situation near the mouth of the Rhone, along which passed much of the trade from Gaul and the north of Europe. Chicago placed as it is has inevitably become a great railway center. All such advantages are increased when as commonly happens other towns which are minor centers of convergence grow up around the main city, thus forming a serial reinforcement of its influence.

Whatever its origin, a city soon becomes a greater center through the interweaving of various interests, economic, military, political and religious; and by virtue of its historic associations. This has been true of Rome, Bagdad, Cordova, London, Paris and especially of Babylon which was made by Hamurabi the convergent center of both the political and the religious forces of Western Asia and continued to hold that position for some fifteen centuries. Rome although first a political then a religious center was never both at once. When it was the political head of the Empire, its Bishop was practically on the same level as other prelates; and by the time papacy was fully developed Rome had lost its political prestige. Jerusalem, at first significant as a strong outpost against

the Philistines, came to be thought of almost exclusively as a sacred city. Centuries after the fall of the Jewish nation, it remained the center to which Hebrews wended their way singing their hymns of faith; and in mediæval times it was, as the crusades testify, an equally magnetic point for Christians. The results of this convergence of Europeans and Asiatics at the eastern end of the Mediterranean were momentous. The contact of so many different peoples all imbued with high religious zeal was one of the greatest moulding forces in European civilization.

All organized convergence begins with some kind of association. Even if the organization be incomplete, yet any collection of persons may become, as it were, a single body active as a unit for a common purpose. A typical instance is the political club. Its members are drawn together by the same ideals and it affects public opinion through its unity of purpose and action. Such clubs have long been an important element in national life and indeed many of the great parties have begun in this loose way. Similar associations are common in ethical and religious matters.

But organization of this lax and democratic nature, though peculiarly suitable for

intellectual and moral purposes—where spontaneity and freedom of action are indispensable—is insufficient in the vast and complex world of affairs. With the growth of society there comes an increased demand for compact and highly centralized organization, for the vesting of control and responsibility in a few men of chosen capacity, in a word for incorporation. Its importance is seen in the way in which the united savings of many persons make the savings banks and insurance companies of the country two of its most potent financial factors. Through this convergent union small sums, which taken severally would not count at all, become a mighty power when cared for by expert and honest guardians. A recent official report shows that the savings banks of New York state alone hold money enough to pay the entire national debt and have \$84,000,000 left, although the largest single deposit is \$3,000 and the average only \$500. The same fact appears to a lesser extent in the incorporation of stock companies.

In modern times organization and concentration are especially prominent in industry and finance, where they have won their most brilliant triumphs. Here executives choose

both the point of convergence and the converging objects and forces. A manufacturer decides at once on his raw material, his machinery, his method of manufacture and his clientage. Financial leaders arrange their campaigns. Chambers of commerce consult for the enlargement and direction of trade, the finding of markets, etc. Firms become corporations; corporations become trusts; trusts grow into syndicates. Transportation lines show the same tendency. Short lines are united and the process goes on until we have trans-continental and trans-oceanic systems merged into one, so that the traveler can buy his ticket at a neighboring office to almost any point in the civilized world.

The desire not only for gain but also for dominance and monopoly furthers industrial association and carries it beyond the stage of combination of persons to that of legal incorporation. In law a corporation is as it were a single person. Indeed the tendency is to give great corporations over to the charge of a president and directors with full discretionary powers. The convergence of capital even on a small scale has tended from the first to draw business to itself and to make isolated trade or manufacture difficult. Cor-

porations profit by their ability to purchase goods in large quantities, by the division and specialization of labor, by superior management, by economy in incidental expenses and by the lessening of competition.

An extraordinary instance of convergence in business, is the concentration of life-insurance companies in New York. In 1905 out of a total in the United States of ninety three companies, eighty four were centered there. They carried over five million policies, amounting to \$10,000,000,000 gross. The power wielded by those who control the gigantic surplus accumulations of these companies is tremendous. Again the convergence of manufacturing in the same city had developed more than twenty-seven thousand separate establishments in 1900.

Another illustration of this process of unification is the organization of workingmen. Labor unions formed to improve the condition of their members and to secure the right of collective bargaining with employers, have grown into huge combinations that take in whole trades and extend throughout the country. Some of them even aim to become international. Here again there is the ten-

dency to lodge the control in the hands of the trusted leaders.

Sometimes full power is vested in a head who may use the contributing forces without being answerable to them. Here the strength and advantage of the convergent method are enjoyed to the uttermost. The several forces are progressively unified and intensified until one powerful force replaces many weak ones. Further, the power of a system generally increases with its size. The larger any business becomes, the more economically—at least up to a certain limit—it can be managed; and the more powerful the head of a system becomes, the better he can strengthen his own position. When power reaches a certain point, it tends to become autocratic; it is tempted to destroy everything that stands in its way. Thus the dangers to society from industrial centralization are very great. Yet corporations in spite of their abuses protect the savings of the individual stockholders, increase the national wealth, and render public services which would otherwise be impossible.

War offers conspicuous instances of power through unification under a single hand. Wherever the art of warfare is highly develop-

ed, enormous authority is vested in the commanding officer and his staff. Thousands of units of forces are so distributed, coördinated and solidified that they become a single body, obedient to the dictates of a single mind. The commanding general has full control of his forces. He plans for their convergence, the rate of their speed, and the converging points towards which they are individually to move. Only thus is success possible. The telephone bound together all four armies of Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, and kept Field-Marshal Oyama in constant communication with Nogi at Port Arthur and Kuroki, Oku and Nodzu in the mountains. An army directed by a mass meeting, or a debating club, would be a mob; and one controlled by divided authority would not be much better.

In civil government also the same convergent method is followed. Here, as was noted under Divergence, the forces which supply the power are not always in agreement. One class or section of the country needs industrial opportunities, or foreign connections, which would be harmful to another. Manufacturers want free raw materials and a tariff on the finished article. Farmers want

manufactured goods to be cheap and produce dear. This conflict arose in England in 1842, and in Germany in 1904 and in our own country it is constant. In the middle ages Flanders for the sake of its markets desired an English alliance. This was unwelcome to the rest of France; and to this the tragedy of the Hundred Years' War was largely due. The attempted secession of the Swiss cantons in 1848, of Hungary from Austria in the same year, of the Southern Confederacy in 1860-1, and the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1906, are other examples in point.

In dealing with cases of this kind, a ruler must rely upon the convergences of the system. He secures a working harmony by massing his forces, both military and financial, and by employing subordinate leaders trained to act with skill and energy in these convergences. The barbarian chief who puts down revolt with ruthless savagery and craft, is succeeded by the governor of a mighty nation—Elizabeth or Cromwell, Walpole or Hamilton—who uses civilized groupings to the same end, or who guides his people to grand destinies by means of the internal order. He may be a President who summons a Congress; or a Speaker of the House who can largely

control legislative action, by apportioning rights of speech and determining the business that shall be done, or a Supreme Justice to whom is referred the final decision of cases involving the whole future policy of a nation. The creation of a German nation out of small discordant states is due to Bismark. Working cautiously along the lines of commercial alliance, using Austria's assistance to detach Schleswig from Denmark, uniting North Germany in the triumphant assault upon France, he finally unified forces which for centuries had been asunder and created an imposing empire.

The civic conditions of the present are the result of a series of experiments in order and liberty. In a highly developed state there must be large freedom of personal choice within the complex organization of society. The difficulties that beset a ruler are inherent in his very function. Government must on the one hand show a wide and just recognition of the varied interests of the commonwealth and on the other it must be firm in maintaining order and stability at home and honor and strength abroad. This appears in a striking way when we note the contrast between Russia and the United States. The

Russian system has been the government of the whole by a part and for the benefit of a part. The result has been internal disaster and stagnation and national defeat and humiliation. In America, the government is controlled by a highly complex public opinion, and is at the same time bold and persevering in its policy. The result is that the United States enjoys general prosperity at home, and extraordinary prestige abroad.

Yet there are forces far wider in their scope than those of government: the general forces of civilization which also have their convergent points. Such forces are inanimate, animate and rational. Now they are detached and operate at great distance from each other; now they unite with a complexity that defies analysis. Their term of development stretches far beyond the limit of a nation's life. Hence they may seem to run parallel for a time or to diverge or even to retrograde when in fact the whole trend of their operations is toward some remote point of convergent influences.

From time to time such convergence affords unique and striking opportunities for progress. The Renaissance, for example, was due to the convergence of several great forces.

The mariner's compass brought the two ends of the old world together, and disclosed new realms for trade and exploration. Gun powder gave new power to military operations, and destroyed old oligarchies. Classic thought and classic literature revitalized Western Europe. Science, criticism and the spirit of religious liberty broke from their ancient limits. The convergence of all these forces gave to the world Petrarch, Michael Angelo, Erasmus, Luther, Copernicus, and made an era in the history of mankind.

As these forces of civilization are wider than those of government so there are forces of religious influences deeper than those of civilization. These also have their points of convergence. The development of new truths and principles; unlooked-for changes in the physical and social world; the great unseen influences in the spiritual world;—all these in their appeals to the imagination and the conscience, to hopes and fears have had many convergent points in the history of Christianity. The center of them all is seen at the moment when Christianity began.

The birth of Christ is the greatest convergent point in human history. To him all the past seemed to point. The Messianic hope

of the Jews had developed until it was shared by the whole world. The Roman Empire was at peace and society was prepared for a gradual awakening. The Hebrew tongue adapted to express only the moral and religious qualities of thought, gave place to the flexible Greek so admirably fitted to interpret the significance and content of the Hebrew religion and the meaning of the life of Christ. Greek philosophy had reached the ideal of the perfect man, and had waned and had betaken itself to mysticism and theosophy without being able to point to a single individual who might be regarded as realizing that ideal. The world was hungering for a new religion. Men were resorting to strange rites, to the teachings of moralists and philosophers, or in despair were giving themselves up to a cold skepticism. In such a society, rich already in aspiration, the early preachers of Christianity found many who were eager to listen and prompt to respond to the announcement that in Christ would be found all the treasures of wisdom and of life. Such a convergence of all the historical forces of a period can hardly have been fortuitous. It never had been seen before and it never has been repeated. From it have flowed

most of those influences that have made the Western nations what they are, and to it they must ever return if they hope to attain to the highest ideal of humanity.

Thus we see in the world a great system of converging and organizing forces; and these grow through their convergence and union. The modern man finds himself in the midst of a complete system that offers great opportunity for the gifted individual. Never before was he in such demand and never before was he so imperatively necessary. This system in no way oppresses the ordinary individual and no one would be benefited by its passing or abolition. The man with one talent can never play the part of the man with two; but he can do more with his one talent than ever before, provided he does not bury it.

CHAPTER VII.

GERMINATION.

The four types of influence thus far discussed—Diffusion, Succession, Divergence and Convergence—all might conceivably exist in a universe where everything began ready made. But in the actual world nothing relating to man begins in its mature form. It is a living and growing world and that not merely in the organic realm but also in the realm of the intellect and of society. Minds grow, ideas develop, institutions unfold. Thus we arrive at a fifth type of influence, which we may call Germination.

The powers of a germ are the efficient and moulding forces in the growth of all living creatures. In a chestnut that is beginning to germinate, there is first the germ itself; second the protoplasm which is the accompanying substance of its development; third the quickening influences of moisture and heat and eventually of light; fourth and most important of all, the peculiar unseen vital

power of the germ to mould all the constituent elements into the generic character and form. When the albumen is absorbed the germ assimilates elements of growth from the soil and atmosphere. The centre of the stalk dies at the end of the first year and is hermetically sealed from decay by the encircling bark in which all vitality resides. In the second year this also becomes dead material added to the supporting trunk. But the process of unfolding the dead wood in living tissue continues. Annular increments are added to the trunk and to the supporting roots. Life exists only in the succulent rootlets, in the membranes of the inner bark and limbs and twigs and in the tissues of the leaves and buds. And this hidden life is always identical with the germ. Precisely the same process may be traced in the development of an animal. The increments, to be sure, are not so visible or so distinct as in the case of a tree, yet they are strikingly intimated in the growth of the chambered shell of the nautilus.

The analogy of spiritual and social growth to physical growth is obvious, as we have seen in treating the Social System. In Germination then we have a new type of influence.

Into it other types do indeed enter, but it nevertheless transcends them all since it rests upon a special fact in the nature of things which they by themselves do not imply.

The chief characteristic of Germination is its power to transform the materials which it uses. A seed assimilates the nutriment which surrounds it, so that this becomes a vital part of the growing thing and contributes to its life. And the same is true of the growing mind which transforms experience into character, and of the developing idea and the unfolding institution which mould and transform the thought and action of society.

The spread of influence by the method of Germination shows a great advance over previous methods in the proportion of effect achieved to effort expended. The power of the individual is immeasurably increased since he is not obliged to create new forces at every step or to bend to his will the physical forces of nature, such as heat or gravity or electricity. He need only sow the seed and its development follows without further effort on his part. In silence and without observation the unfolding goes on until perhaps

a new way of thinking has taken possession of men's minds or a new social order is established. Thus though the direct contribution of the individual may be slight his influence is enormous because he is in alliance with the building forces of the universe.

The possible relations of the individual to the processes of Germination are two: he may plant the seed; or he may foster the growth that has already begun. Both of these relations must be borne in mind in discussing the several types of influence which come under this head. Three such types may be distinguished: first, germination in the individual when influence is exerted through the growth of a single human being; second, germination by descent when influence depends upon reproduction; and third, the germination of ideas and institutions.

The first type, germination in the individual, owes its importance to the long infancy of the human being. The lower animals soon arrive at the fullest maturity of which they are capable, but in man the plastic period lasts for a score of years so that a high degree of education becomes possible. The experience of the world is well expressed in the saying of the priest, "Give me a child

until he is twelve years old and I care not who may have him afterwards." Most of our cherished convictions began in assent to the opinions and practices of family and community; and our sympathies and habits date back to our early years. It is a striking fact that in old age memory reverts to childhood days, and recalls those experiences with far more vividness than the experiences of later years. This plasticity and passivity are necessary for moulding the child into the likeness of the community, and for keeping the social gains which the past has made.

Childhood then is a critical period both for the individual and for society. Confucius, it is said, revered children for what they might become, and "to corrupt the youth" is a crime that has always been held in special abhorrence. Each of us in truth is under a heavy responsibility, for our lightest word or least-considered act may seriously affect some growing life. Much of what is called moral heredity is simply the effect of environment upon a plastic and defenceless nature. Most of our cherished convictions were originally derived from others. Ideas and sympathies acquired in early years tend to grow fixed and stable. They

become the dominant motives of the mature man and through him they may determine the policy of parties or of nations. Hamilcar, the Carthaginian leader in the first Punic war, seeing that his long resistance to the Romans had been in vain, bequeathed the task to his son. The vow which he is said to have caused the young Hannibal to swear at the altar pledged him to undying hostility to Rome. In his life-long fulfillment of his oath Hannibal attacked the Romans in Spain, descended upon them across the Alps, humiliated them repeatedly at their own gates and in his last years, helpless at Carthage, stirred up against them warfare in Asia. Alexander the Great was roused to martial valor by reading when a boy the stories of Achilles in Homer. Napoleon's admiration of Alexander's Asiatic expedition fired him with a desire to emulate him by the conquest of India. Francis Drake in his youth accompanied Captain Hawkins on a trading expedition to the West Indies. At San Juan d'Ullac they took refuge from a storm, where a Spanish fleet which they had allowed to enter the harbor attacked them in violation of a sacred agreement. Drake barely escaped in a shattered vessel. There and then a

desire for revenge was born in him. He harried the commerce of Spain, destroyed her colonial towns, fought her navies and took part in the destruction of the Armada. William Penn's career was settled by a chance occurrence in his youth. Stopping in the street to listen to one Loe, an itinerant preacher, he was so much affected by Loe's doctrine that he refused to attend the services in his own college. A second meeting made Penn a confirmed Quaker.

Thus the permanent disposition, ideals and habits of mature life are largely the result of actions to which little attention was given at the time. Character is to a less extent than we commonly suppose the consequence of deliberate and conscious choice. It is due in the main to the accumulation of acts and interests arising out of the demands and needs of the life about us, and interpreted and moulded by the trend given to the mind by formative influences in youth.

The most signal opportunities for this kind of influence are enjoyed by those who, like parents and teachers, maintain a constant and watchful contact with growing lives. The influence of the parent begins earlier and is continued longer than that of the teacher;

it is also less formal and more intimate and is re-enforced by the impulses of natural affection. There is comparatively little formal teaching in the home; influence depends mainly on example and atmosphere. No amount of instruction will overcome bad parental example, and no course in the catechism will undo the influence of a selfish and worldly household. Only second to the home influence is that of the teacher. By the truths he teaches, the example he holds up, the order of his school, his personal bearing and more than all, by what he is, the teacher wields the scepter of power. In the field of higher education, the teacher enjoys the prestige of scholarship and the opportunity of impressing the best youth of the land at the very age when they are making the most momentous choices of their lives. Such a teacher often wields an influence even beyond that of parents. When the developing mind is first finding itself, or getting its bearings in the strange world into which it has been born, it often passes through a period of yeasty fermentation in which self-assertion, doubt and vague and obscure impulses and longings mingle in hopeless confusion. And parents often lack the intellectual breadth and

comprehensive sympathy needed for dealing with such cases. Then it is that the great-minded and large-hearted teacher has his supreme opportunity. It is this fact that gives the great teacher even national importance. The school is one of the most important institutions of the civilized state; and the teacher is the school.

But after all, the individual is his own most constant guide; for in the end he is largely the outcome of his own early decisions. These determine his habits, his associations, his character. In the growth of the soul opposite classes of desires appeal to the will, clamoring for indulgence. The soul may grow in either of two directions, while the tree or the body can grow in but one. If the impulses are nearly balanced, a slight influence on the right or wrong side will turn the scale. The scale once turned, there is a tendency to a repetition of the same choice. One class of desires gains strength as the other weakens. This is something like the growth of two trees from the same root. If the growth of one is arrested by some accident, the other receiving more nourishment grows more rapidly. The gratified desire of the soul, good or bad, becomes dominant and finds kindred

desires that cluster round it and help to establish its supremacy.

This brings us to a second and still more important type of germination; namely, germination of descent.

The problem of heredity is obscure, and in its philosophical aspects is far from being satisfactorily settled; but certain facts are sufficiently clear for our present purposes. Some measure of physical heredity is undeniable. Nobody expects to raise maples from acorns. Every stock-breeder has confidence in the transmission of characteristic traits in cattle; and every farmer or nurseryman shows the same faith when he tries to raise better vegetables or to produce new varieties of plants. An individual in one generation is born with certain tendencies, aptitudes and powers which will probably be repeated in subsequent generations. Furthermore, we know that any individual may supply modifications which are still further developed in the generations that follow. Thus when one individual influences another, he affects not only the actual life of that second individual but also his posterity. These are causes which operate in determin-

ing the growth of family, national and racial traits.

The principle of heredity has in human life an importance which can hardly be overestimated. All physicians recognize a "diathesis" of physical constitution. One does not indeed inherit health or disease specifically but rather a constitution immune from certain disorders or else predisposed to them.

Turning to the causes of direct social significance we find that many families have possessed special aptitudes for certain lines of practical or intellectual effort. Philip of Macedon succeeded at an early age to a disputed crown, and to a kingdom beset by foreign enemies and weakened by the turbulence of the nobles. Yet he soon secured himself against deposition or revolt, placed the country beyond attack and began his career of conquest. In twenty years he was practically master of Greece and of the whole of the Thracian peninsula. His son Alexander the Great after ruling for thirteen years held sway over an empire which included most of the civilized world east of Italy. Ptolemy I. said to be Alexander's half brother, founded the Grecian kingdom of Egypt, the best administered of all the

minor governments into which the empire broke up after Alexander's death, and became the progenitor of a wonderful dynasty of kings and queens. Pyrrhus of Epirus of the same stock as Alexander, was one of the ablest rulers and generals of his day. The family was therefore remarkable for its ability to rule. No sooner had the Northman, Rollo, been presented with Normandy in 911, than he and his successors began to make it the best administered part of France. Finding the duchy too small a field for their ability the Norman Dukes crossed to England which straightway leaped ahead of other countries in national and institutional development. Much of England's greatness is due to the ability of the Norman family which ruled with so stern and wise a sway. The family of Charlemagne including Pepin and Charles Martel; and that of the Vases including Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X., furnish other examples of hereditary genius for kingship.

In the sphere of art we meet with the notable instance of the Bachs. This wonderful family, incomparably the greatest example of hereditary genius of which we know, continued from 1550 for two hundred and

fifty years, through eight generations, reaching its culmination in the sixth generation with Sebastian Bach. No fewer than twenty-nine members of this family were musicians of eminence and twenty-eight more are thought worthy of notice in biographical dictionaries. The family held regular reunions one of which (about 1750) was attended by one hundred and twenty members, all musicians.

A remarkable instance of the transmission of great mental power is that of the Edwards family in New England. "Out of fourteen hundred descendants of Jonathan Edwards and his wife Sarah Pierrepont, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were—to speak approximately—five-score lawyers, of whom thirty became judges; five-score clergymen or professors of theology; five-score professors in colleges, of whom thirteen became college presidents; six-score and fifteen books written by authors within the family stock; five-score persons in public office, of whom six were governors of states or United States senators; three-score physicians; eighteen editors; seventy-five men in the army or navy; and out of not far from seven hundred men of this stock,

one hundred and twenty graduates of Yale College." A summary of the history of a family of radically different type may be quoted from the same author. "Out of twelve hundred descendants in one line the detailed story of seven hundred is known: only twenty learned a trade, of whom ten learned it in prison; seven were murderers; sixty professional thieves; one hundred and thirty were criminals; three hundred and ten were paupers: four hundred and forty were viciously diseased. The thieving, trials and prison life of this family stock, the maintaining of their women of evil habits, the cost of disease and loss of wages, amounted in a period of seventy-five years, in which statistics were available to \$1,308,000." In such cases, of course, the development of native capacity for good or evil is due largely to the special circumstances of family life; but the capacity itself is innate. Aptitudes that are traditional in a family will be fostered, and others will be neglected. And here the influence of the individual is multiplied. He affects posterity not only directly but also through the environment in which his offspring are reared. His immediate progeny will tend to develop those aptitudes which

conditions favor, and these, once developed, will determine the environment of succeeding generations.

Facts of this kind are legion and can be found in endless profusion in the standard works on the subject. They are summed up in the familiar proverb: "Blood will tell."

Heredity appears on a broader scale in national and racial traits. There are, to be sure, such differences in the same tribe that one might be tempted to say that they cover every possible variety. But if a number of persons belonging to one race are placed beside the same number of persons belonging to another, we see at once how much deeper and more significant are the racial than the individual traits. No one could mistake an Indian, a Mongolian, a Negro or an Eskimo for a European.

There is much evidence that racial heredity is not merely physical, but moral and psychological as well. Here however the testimony of observed facts is somewhat ambiguous. It is not clear to what extent such traits of mind and soul are due to inheritance and how far they are determined by environment and education. But for our present purpose the question is unimportant for in

either case the influence of the individual operates by what we have called the germinal method. Whether by way of direct heredity or by way of training and of what may be termed the "atmosphere" of the home, ancestors are largely responsible for the character of their descendants. On the rocks in many parts of New England are to be found glacial marks. The glaciers have receded or entirely disappeared but the marks remain. Similarly far-away ancestors have left their markings on the men and women of today. The "dead hand" is extended in blessing or clutches in a fatal grip. This fact of hereditary influence is so stupendous that we can but wonder that such power should have been given to men.

Thus far we have considered germination in the life of the individual. We must now pass to consider it as a social fact or in other words, we must study the germination of ideas and institutions.

Ideas and institutions like all things human are subject to the law of growth. This results necessarily from the nature of life itself. Men are not abstract speculators dwelling in a vacuum; they live in the midst of practical interests for which they have

to make provision. Hence their thinking is mainly born of practical needs, in an attempt to adjust themselves to the order of nature. Geometry did not begin as the science of pure space, but as the art of land-measuring. Arithmetic did not begin as the doctrine of pure number, but as a means of making small routine calculations. Yet the whole structure of mathematics is a development from these feeble beginnings. And so it has been with social customs and institutions. They were not minted like coins by one stroke of the die; but they have in them marks of growth as trees show age by their annual rings. Indeed germinal ideas and institutions are curiously like physical organisms, in that at the start they often give little indication of their final form. All fledglings are helpless, and social fledglings are no exception.

Development then is the law of both mental and social progress. We note this in the growth of formal knowledge. The history of philosophy is full of striking instances of the gradual unfolding of germinal ideas. The teaching of Socrates developed into the idealism of Plato, and the mysticism of the Neo-Platonists. Aristotle's system developed in-

to the scholasticism of the middle ages. Locke's speculations produced the idealism of Berkeley, and ended in the nihilism of Hume. Descartes had Spinoza and Leibnitz for lineal descendants. Kant's Critique is the fountain of modern philosophy. Bentham's Utilitarianism is one great source of modern law. In physical science the methods and discoveries of Galileo grew into the science of mechanics. Adam Smith's speculations on the laws of trade remade the science of economics.

Enough has been said to illustrate the workings of the germinal method in the great system of human society, and in the development of the thoughts and ideas that mould and govern the world we live in. All such germinal processes are of course originated by individuals. The inventions too that have transformed modern life go back to individual men of genius, whose influence abides with us in growing years. Whitney still gins our cotton and Hargreaves spins our yarn. Watt works through the steam engine; Stephenson drives our locomotives; Fulton commands the fleets of all nations. In this way the ideas that have built up civilization go back to lonely and little known

thinkers who now as "sceptered sovereigns still rule us from their urns." Social movements may likewise be traced back to the individual. The Sunday School is due to Robert Raikes; the Society of Friends to George Fox; the Methodists to Wesley; the Reformed Churches to Calvin.

The same principle of germinal growth appears in the history of institutions, and enables society to advance by adapting itself to new conditions.

Illustrations of minor importance are legion. Banks have germinated from places of safe deposit or from guarantors of coin values or from remitters of money or from financial companies to float government loans. And they have finally become agents for investment and providers of industrial capital. Craft guilds have germinated into huge mutual-benefit organizations like the Masons and Odd Fellows, with craft lines obliterated. Libraries have germinated from small collections of books stored up for a few scholars into great annexes to the system of popular education. The Kindergarten system has grown to be a great factor in elementary education.

The evolution of the jury system affords an especially good example. Originally witnesses, chosen for their knowledge of the facts in dispute, the jurors have become judges of facts submitted to them by others; and the jury, originally an instrument of the royal administration, has become one of the effective guarantees of popular liberty. Yet throughout, the representative character of the jury has been maintained, and the principle of local representation which it embodies also germinated in another form into the representative system of the House of Commons. The germinative process is again seen in the history of universities, which developed out of the cathedral schools of the Middle Ages so gradually that it is in many cases impossible to fix the exact date of their establishment, and have continued to grow and adapt themselves to new conditions of knowledge and social environment. Ecclesiastical institutions show similar growth. Monasticism is a striking illustration, and even the church itself comes under the same law.

The entire theory of development as applied to the human race in history illustrates and enforces the importance of ideas and

institutions that have in them the power to live and to grow. In germinating and planting such ideas and institutions the individual exercises a great and lasting influence upon society.

The germ implanted by a single monk, Saint Benedict of Nursia grew into an institution beneficent for all western Europe. At Monte Cassino in Italy he drew up a rule which imposed upon the monks along with the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, the necessity of daily work both manual and mental. This rule leavened the then existent monastic life; the missionary era soon following saw it prevalent in Italy, France, Spain, England and Germany. Thus the idle asceticism of the East was avoided, and the monasteries became pioneers in civilization, improvers of agriculture, centers of industry and conservatories of learning.

In the modern world the ideas of John Marshall have been the seed from which the present judiciary of the United States has grown. Chosen justice of the Supreme Court when its functions were vaguely defined, he at once claimed for it dignity and authority as final interpreter of the law; and competitive principles sketched in his famous de-

cisions have been expanded and applied until today the Court is perhaps the most authoritative body in the country. Not only in judicial affairs have Marshall's ideas been thus fruitful, but they have been potent in strengthening the fabric of the Union. When the doctrine of States Rights sought to hedge in National prerogative, Marshall's decisions did most to extend it and to create an organization and a sentiment which survived civil war. His principles continue to mould the judicial and political spirit of each new state added to the Union.

The germinal development is most impressive when we can study two antagonistic principles, working systematically but in opposite directions, and observe the difference in their results. Such diverse tendencies are well illustrated in the contrasted histories of Luther and Loyola. Martin Luther grew to maturity with his mind warped by the superstition of the mediæval church. He had been taught to yield unquestioning obedience to his superiors, in all matters of religious belief and practice. Becoming convinced after a mighty spiritual struggle that this was an erroneous principle, he abandoned it and asserted the right of private judgment

instead. This position works a radical change, even if it is applied to mere matters of ordinary prudence, but if the new principle is made a permanent rule of conscience—if it is extended to the relations of the soul with the Unseen One and consequently to all views and practices in the moral and religious life—it assumes a magnitude that is startling. For the right of private judgment, once adopted in spiritual questions, naturally extends to manifold questions of life common to the individual who holds it and to all his neighbors, whether they hold it or not and hence it must eventually become the ruling principle of every free state. In fact, this one principle conceived, argued and applied to life by that one man, was a germ which has been growing for centuries in society and institutions. It has shaped the religious belief and the ecclesiastical organization of all Northern Europe, and it has crossed the sea to establish a new continent. In civil policy it has been no less effective and has shown itself to be the only principle, perfectly or imperfectly developed, by which free institutions can long exist. Thus the obscure monk of Erfurt has shaped the destiny of nations

by his great principle of the right and duty of individual judgment.

Eight years after the birth of Luther another great leader was born. He propounded a theory which was the direct opposite of Luther's principle. He conceived a religious order in which all the members should be in complete subjection to the head. Military despots recruit their armies from all parts of their realm; Loyola drew his adherents from every nation. He scrutinized the hidden inclinations, passions and capacities of each prospective member of his society. The process was repeated and tabulated until the fitness of every man to be his instrument was assured. He not only drew from a wider area than kings do, but he penetrated more deeply into the secret forces of men's souls. Not only was the adherent to obey his superior without question, but the conscience itself was brought into unconditional submission. Young men were skilfully appealed to and were enlisted for the support of the great system. All classes of society were represented in the service: the rich and the poor, the cultivated and the ignorant. Monarchs were attracted to the confessional of the Jesuits, and their consciences were con-

trolled by Loyola's servants. His obedient disciples were assigned to multiplied objects of industry, of colonization, of charity, of education. At last they were able to shape the legislation and to dictate the diplomacy of the great Catholic Powers of Europe. All these complex forces were subservient to a single despotic head, to whom every member had vowed unquestioning submission and obedience. For two centuries the plan conceived by that one mind kept growing, until it held more powerful sway than the sceptre of a king in command of vast armies. It saved whole realms to the Roman church; it gave political character to governments; it shaped and controlled the education of scholars, of missionaries and of statesmen. A soldier without arms became a despot without a throne and by the natural growth of one germinal idea brought millions of men into subjection of action, mind, heart, will and conscience itself to his absolute sovereignty.

To be sure men in the rank and file cannot hope to exert such influence as the great leaders. But nevertheless the germinal order of life affords everyone an opportunity to act as a quickening or transforming force

in his own family or neighborhood. And his work, though it may pass without notice, can never be wasted. It must enter into the life of the community and continue, ever developing, to the end of time. The general conception of evolution has taken permanent possession of modern thought. Past, present and future, are indissolubly bound together by one law of growth. Thus the individual man of the present day has a deeper and fuller sense both of the past and of the future. He knows that he himself is reaping where others have sown; and he sows in his turn, with confidence that the germinal processes of civilization will bring his efforts to fruition in the ages to come.

CHAPTER VIII.

CORRELATION.

The several types of influence, as we have seen, depend on special features of the given system which makes them possible. Diffusion depends on the initiative and social nature of man; Succession depends on the spatial and temporal form of life; Divergence and Convergence depend on conscious direction and control; Germination depends on the fact of a living and growing world. But these types do not exhaust the modes of influence.

The sixth and last method by which the individual exerts his influence is that of Correlation.

Since society is an organic system, a living whole whose parts are mutually dependent, its welfare is inseparable from the welfare of all the persons or classes or groups which compose it. The good of each is the good of all, and if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it. It is this fact

of mutual dependence, this vital connection of men in the social system, which makes the Correlation type of influence possible. All things work together, either in harmony or with discord; so that action at any point finds quick response at other points in some other form of action or reaction. Thus when a new law is passed or a new social movement is begun, far-reaching consequences result because of the interdependence of the social factors. Similarly the acceptance of a new principle in politics or religion works vast changes in society, because of the correlation of thought and conduct.

Now, the basal fact in any correlative system is organization. This enables the parts to work together according to a common idea or law. In the inorganic world we have correlation in the making and working of machines, where parts are correlated according to the inventor's idea so as to belong together and work together. In the organic world we have such a thorough correlation of parts and organs that Kant defined the organism as something in which every part is at once end and means,—that is, every part is correlated with every other and exists

for and through every other. In the physiological realm we have correlations of an intimate and vital sort. There is the correlation between the mind of man and his body. The condition of the body vitally affects the state of the mind, and conversely. And within the mind itself there is a vital correlation of thinking and feeling and willing. Within the social sphere too correlation prevades all our relations with others in friendships and organizations.

The several types of human influence are not, as we have already noted, mutually independent, but they form a series in which the lower pass into the higher, and are raised to greater efficiency by being correlated with the higher types in one inclusive system. They all take on new possibilities as they are unified and made to work together in harmonious coördination. Diffusion may be correlated with succession, as in the spread of given political or social ideas in space and time; divergence with germination, as in the growth of civilization from intellectual centres; convergence with diffusion, as in reports of a rich mining district; and with succession and divergence, as in the development of a railroad centre. In short, any one

operation may be so adjusted to other operations as to enable an individual to call forth the total power of them all or the whole power of the system.

The full significance of Correlation as a type of influence appears, however, only when society has reached some degree of development. The political correlations of the modern state would have been impossible in a savage tribe and the financial correlations of the business world were needless when a few bushels of wampum or some barrels of glass beads were currency enough for a continent.

Society to-day is both more complex and more unified than ever before. And both its complexity and unity are due to close and manifold correlations, which embrace industry, politics and morals, and are international in their scope.

The correlative type of influence, then, is characteristic of modern civilization. It is higher than other types which we have been studying. Indeed, by its operations in society, it utilizes and perfects them all. Diffusion supplies the elements of contact and social conduction; succession, those of arrangement and order; divergence, those of

control and spread; convergence, those of mass and union; germination, those of growth and reproduction; but correlation employs all these elements and organizes them into the highest possible effectiveness. ❖

In our complex modern civilization there are several different kinds of correlative influence, sufficiently distinct and important to deserve particular illustration.

The first type may be called indirect action. In mechanics, power may be transmitted by connecting one lever with others, so that a push of the hand on the first will move them all. If we do not command a position from which we can throw rays of light on a given point, we may reflect the rays by means of a mirror, and in this indirect manner may illuminate the point desired. An irritant inflames the body at the point of application; but it may also have a counter-effect on inflammation elsewhere and thus defend the vital parts. The failure of a capitalist may affect one corporation directly and other corporations indirectly. The inculcation of moral truths in a community has its direct result in good habits and its indirect result in financial prosperity.

The military commander seldom makes a direct attack. He seizes some point which threatens the enemy's communications, or despatches an army to attack at another point in order to compel a retreat. Scipio forced Hannibal out of Italy, not by attacking him there but by carrying the war into Africa. This forced the Carthaginian to hasten home, lest his chief base of supplies should be cut off and lest the country for the sake of which he was operating in Italy should be ruined. The blow, though aimed at one spot, was to have its greatest effect in another.

Indirect action is further illustrated in the principle of mediation. One individual often finds that he cannot act directly upon another but that he can accomplish his purpose through a third party who acts upon the second. When a man cannot be reached directly, he can often be reached through his friends or his family. The principle of mediation plays an important part in every sphere of human affairs, from small voluntary associations to the weightiest interests of diplomacy.

In the type of correlation which we are considering, the initial act is often reinforced by its indirect consequences. The water

which sweeps through a dike constantly enlarges the opening and so increases its own power. The fire which warms the chimney creates a fresh draft that makes a better fire. Capital placed at compound interest is progressively augmented from year to year. Trade makes trade. It begets new wants; these wants seek satisfaction and as a result more goods are sold and bought. The humane sentiment in a community creates charitable societies and an indirect result of these societies is an extension of humane sentiment in the community.

The indirect effect of an action is often not the less important for being unintentional. The unforeseen results of legislation make up a large part of the history of civilization. A recent instance is that of the Employers' Liability Laws, which have greatly promoted the cause of temperance; for when employers are liable for accidents they cannot afford to hire intemperate workmen. The inventors of gunpowder had no thought of assisting the advance of freedom and democratic government. Yet their invention made the peasant with a gun in his hand a stronger fighting force than the mailclad noble. Great movements in history often go much farther than

those who started them ever purposed. The Jacobin leaders in the French Revolution did not at first contemplate abolition of the monarchy, still less the execution of the king. For a long time Cromwell had no thought of the military subjugation of England. Luther had no desire to break with the Roman Church. On the contrary he strove hard to remain within it. And even when the breach came, he little dreamed how much was involved in the Protestant Reformation which he had set in motion.

The second type of Correlation is that of Successive Summation of Forces. In this type the correlated forces act successively, or in a series, to produce the result intended.

The necessity of successive coördination is seen in the passage of a law. In this country, the bill has to pass successively the lower house, the upper house, and the executive. Each stage of the process depends upon the preceding and determines what follows; and all the stages must be completed before the bill can become a law.

One of the most conspicuous examples of successive summation of forces is found in the industrial division of labor, where different operations are successively applied to get the

finished product. In the construction of a building the masons must precede the carpenters or the bricklayers, and these must do their work before plasterers and decorators can attempt the finishing of the constructive process. Every stage of manufacture is dependent upon the preceding and is the necessary condition of that which follows.

Division of labor has made it possible for the individual to concentrate his attention on one part until the product of successive laborers is nearer perfection than it could be if one man performed in succession the different kinds of labor, and large results are accomplished with a minimum of effort. As long as primitive man made everything for himself he was largely independent of other men but he accomplished little in a day. Now everybody satisfies his needs from one or another of his fellows, and realizes with a growing consciousness the interdependence of society because his very life depends on others. Each stage of manufacture is dependent upon the preceding and is the necessary condition of that which follows. And the product, whether it is a shoe or a battleship, depends for its completion on the full

and exact performance of every stage of the process at the proper time.

The third form of correlative action is simultaneous coöperation. This type consists in the operation of two or more forces at the same time but in different places. The forces may do their work under direction or through mutual agreement, and in either case the coöperation may be instantaneous or may extend over a period of time. This type of Correlation has acquired growing importance in recent years because of the rapid development of various forms of communication and because of the increasing sense of men's interdependence.

The clearest exhibition of simultaneous coöperation under direction is the system of weather observations now in use. Scientific observations of meteorological conditions at widely scattered points taken simultaneously make possible the daily predictions concerning changes in the weather. Another example is the management of an effective blockade in time of war. With care and precision alike by day and in the darkest night every ship patrols its own part of the coast, and all together make it impossible for the enemy to find an opening through the

lines. An instance of extraordinary concert in military operations occurred in the recent war between Russia and Japan. Field Marshall Oyama controlled the movements of four great Japanese armies, moving them over an extended area with remarkable precision and dispatch by means of the telegraph and the telephone, and fighting battles with an army front fifty miles long.

Simultaneous coöperation often requires a period of time for the successful achievement of the full results. To illustrate individual influence, Charlemagne's example has been already cited. His lifelong work was more wonderful. As an economist he issued capitularies for the administration of royal estates; as a general he conquered the Lombards and Saxons; as a statesman he sent his representatives throughout the empire to supervise unruly counts; as an educator he cared for learning in the monasteries and placed Alcuin over the palace school; as a defender and apostle of Christianity he organized the Saxon Church and received the crown of the revived Roman Empire from the Bishop of Rome. In consequence of the coördination of all these activities, the age of Charle-

magne stands out as the brightest period in seven centuries of mediæval history.

A higher form of simultaneous coöperation appears when the forces coöperate, not under external direction, but through mutual agreement. This form is exemplified in many of the operations of labor and capital. At Rochdale, England, in 1844, twenty eight poor weavers formed an association for co-operative trading. They bought groceries at wholesale, sold them to members at retail prices and distributed the profits to members according to the amount of their trade at the store. These Rochdale Pioneers initiated a movement so successful in its operations that there are now in England over fourteen hundred such associations of consumers, comprising twenty three hundred thousand members and owning wholesale stores in Manchester and Glasgow which do an annual business of over \$100,000,000.

The Clearing House is another example. The officials of the different banks in a city establish a clearing house consisting of a head and clerks, and it has a room with a separate window and boxes for each bank. At an appointed time each day, the agents of the different banks bring their checks and

deposit them in their allotted places. The checks are then compared and if one bank is indebted for more than it can pay, its account must be promptly adjusted, or the bank will be declared insolvent. All such forms of effect by mutual agreement reveal the fact that the genius of the age is in harmony with the practice of coöperation and we may expect to see a further development in this general direction.

The fourth type of Correlation is reaction. The action not only continues in a direct line of consequences but provokes contrary action owing to a tendency of the system to maintain or recover equilibrium. In a correlative system there is a normal equilibrium between the correlated parts. It is the law of the physical world that action and reaction are opposite and equal. We see this in such properties as elasticity, in such phenomena as explosions, in the mechanical arrangements of a swinging pendulum and in the governor and safety-valve of a steam engine. Similarly in the organic sphere we find every living organism like the human body obeying a law that preserves the harmony and symmetrical development of all its parts.

Excess in one direction soon calls forth a reaction to restore equilibrium.

In financial affairs the operation of this principle is readily discovered. In the stock market a sudden rise in the price of a stock is followed by a corresponding decline. Real estate "booms" lead almost inevitably to depression and collapse. A "sliding scale" in the tariff is sometimes arranged so that if an article of commerce rises in price the duty becomes less. In politics revolution is usually followed by periods of governmental control. In religion times of intense excitement are likely to be succeeded by periods of indifference, and conversely.

In the preceding examples there is a simple reaction of the second force upon the first. The second force acts directly opposite to the first force and in an apparently spontaneous manner. There are, however, instances in which a third factor enters and causes the reaction. This is the case when the reaction takes place through a medium. If the prosperous families in the fashionable quarter of a town pay no heed to the poor in a neighboring quarter, this neglect and the consequent disregard of sanitary precautions will cause disease which contami-

nates water and air; the disease will react upon the rich and may even strike down the head of the wealthiest household. If the educated neglect the ignorant, the effects of ignorance will react upon the educated. Let one portion of a community become addicted to intemperance and sensuality and there will be a recoil upon the portion that is guilty of indifference only. Let the discriminating application of conscience in any portion of a community be disregarded, and there will be in time universal obtuseness in moral judgments, and laxity in practising what even the blunted sensibilities dictate. Thus a group or class of any social system is under bonds not to harm another group or class lest the harm return to plague the inventor.

In other instances of this type the reaction takes place through the influence of a third force. In the simplest form of this kind of reaction the third force lies in the general sentiment of the community. One part of a community may succeed for a while in establishing a tone of frivolity and vice, as not infrequently happens among pioneers or in mining camps; but such a condition will not last long because the sentiment of a higher and better element will bring about a

reaction. A good illustration of the place a third party holds in society and the power it wields is the role the public plays in disputes between capital and labor. When the public finds which party is right, it brings its opinion and moral pressure to bear upon the party in the wrong and secures a settlement which is for the best interests of all concerned. The same principle operates in its most pronounced form in the influence of a third party in government. Party government is essentially a device for maintaining the proper equilibrium of social and political forces. When the party in power governs wisely and well it is difficult for the opposition to overturn it, but if it pushes forward too boldly, then the independent voters form a third party, join the conservatives and thus bring about the reaction towards a slower and safer progress. Or sometimes the movement of the two great parties in the direction of reform is too slow. Neither the Whig nor the Democratic party was willing to grapple with the problem of negro slavery in America until the few who made up the Liberty and Free Soil parties had so indoctrinated the mind of the North that party politics had to take cognizance of the aboli-

tion movement. And so powerful did it become that a third party, taking a designation long out of use, supplanted one of the old parties altogether and became the Republican party of our times. In England Gladstone was compelled to take account of the demand of Ireland for home rule because the Irish members held the balance of power, even though his program nearly wrecked the Liberal party. Thus the principle of reaction makes political perversion for any long period almost impossible.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance to society of those "third parties" that react against aggressors and extremists. But for them progress would come to a standstill while two opposing parties were engaged in a deadly conflict which would crush the weaker without regard to justice or the welfare of the country.

The principle of reaction brings about a kind of periodicity in economic and social movements. Periods of prosperity and depression—"flush times" and "hard times," as we call them—alternate, and so do periods of freedom and subjection to authority in politics and religion. Such reactions, however, do not cancel the good effects of previous

action. There is always some progress. The Restoration did not bring back the England of Charles I. The reaction against the Reign of Terror did not bring back the old regime in France, nor did the rebound against the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 re-establish the institutions which those movements swept away. As civilization advances, the pendulum swings through a smaller and smaller arc. Men learn from experience; the radicals are satisfied with less and the conservatives concede more. Yet we must not expect the oscillation to cease altogether. Differences in individual temper and in social maturity call for continual readjustment. So long as human nature remains the same, so long as men are men, the law of reaction will continue to exert its sway in social affairs.

The fifth correlative type is coalition. Here the forces concerned enter into a more or less permanent agreement to act together for the furtherance of their interests. Mutual concessions from the parties who form the coalition are often necessary. We find this principle at work in the industrial realm. Nowhere are the principles of conciliation and arbitration more frequently made use of than in settling the differences which arise

between employer and employees. It is now coming to be the opinion of many that every state should have a board of arbitration to help settle these difficulties.

It is, however, in international relations that the significance of coalition is best seen. Different countries form a league to protect some strategic point or to keep the political situation favorable to all of them, or to set up a bulwark against a common enemy.

History is full of examples. Babylonia, Egypt and Lydia combined against Cyrus after his conquest of Media in 550, but it was a defective coalition because the allies could not bring their forces together, and so Cyrus beat them in detail. When the host of Xerxes had already penetrated into Greece the Spartans and the other states of the Peloponnessus were for drawing back and making a stand at the isthmus of Corinth. The Athenian Themistocles on the other hand seeing the need of destroying first the Persian fleet, made an eloquent appeal and secured a coalition of the various states. From his success came the victory of Salamis and the rescue of European civilization from conquest by an Oriental power. When it seemed as if Louis XIV. would extend his

sway over Holland, as he had already extended it over Spain, it was the unflagging energy of William of Orange which united England, Holland and Austria to hold the Dutch frontier, to lessen French predominance in Spain and to check the dangerous progress of absolute monarchy. Still later Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden and Great Britain united to defeat Napoleon.

Constantinople, a strategic point of the first importance has long been the subject of a compact by which several nations whose interests conflict have agreed that no one of them shall acquire an influence to the detriment of the others. Conflicting interests and mutual jealousies have united to produce that delicate adjustment among nations which we call "the balance of power." This adjustment has hitherto been confined chiefly to Europe, but is now being extended into Asia, where the several nations are seeking to acquire and maintain "spheres of influence."

The sixth type of correlative action is in the adjustment and direction of opposing forces. Here the forces operate at the same time and place but are antagonistic. In such cases a conflict is inevitable, for the

system can work only when one force prevails. In such a case of balanced forces, the individual may exert the greatest possible influence, for he may turn the scale and determine the result.

This has often been the case in politics. One vote carried the tariff of 1842, and one vote repealed it in 1846. One vote out of an aggregate of a hundred thousand elected a governor of Massachusetts in 1841. One vote elected Oliver Cromwell to the Long Parliament; but the holder of that vote little thought that his hand was to convulse a kingdom with revolution and send Charles Stuart to the scaffold. By a single vote in the United States Senate, Texas was admitted to the Union, in 1845; this precipitated the Mexican War, led to the admission of California, and had no little weight in bringing the question of slavery to an issue. Talleyrand's achievement at the Congress of Vienna, held in 1814 to settle European affairs after Napoleon's abdication, furnishes a famous example. The coinciding interests of Prussia and of Russia caused them to work more or less together. This forced England and Austria to join in opposition. This situation Talleyrand adroitly intensified until, as the

representative of the fifth great power of the Congress, he became the practical arbiter of the chief questions and enabled France to come out far better than the powers had intended.

These are cases where the individual has had great power in political life because of the balance of opposing forces. Instances abound in history where the balance of power in politics has been held by a comparatively small number of individuals. Thus the Irish members of Parliament under the leadership of Mr. Parnell long had an influence far beyond their numerical proportion because of their ability to help either the Tory or the Liberal party to victory in closely contested cases. Similar facts appear in French and German politics of recent times in the action of the Socialistic and Clerical factions.

The previous examples of the significance of the individual in controlling balanced opposing forces are taken from politics. Even more striking illustrations are found in military history. In a council of officers a single voice may precipitate an engagement. On the Plains of Marathon, five generals were in favor of an attack and five against it. Callimachus gave the casting vote for battle

and thus secured a victory whose effect outlived the independence of Greece. European civilization might have been Oriental in type had Callimachus voted the other way. And even in the actual conflict the result may turn on the valor and steadiness of the single person, even of the single private. The commanding general may have marshalled his troops with the utmost skill and furnished them with the most effective weapons of war, and yet at the crisis of the fight a single subaltern may make a mistake in his limited command and this mistake may confuse the plan of battle and lose the day. Though each soldier is under an iron rule, still he may influence the entire army. A single false impression, or a sudden failure of courage may cause him to turn and flee in terror. His fright spreads to others and a panic may result that is beyond the power of the commander to check. When such an event occurs on a battlefield where great interests of humanity are at stake, then the greatest possible results, so far as human combinations can effect them, may be decided by so trivial an influence as the unreasoning fear of a single private.

Such facts show how sensitive the social mechanism is and how apparently slight causes may produce far-reaching effects. Forces seem to be balanced, and some slight force comes in to overturn the equilibrium and produce a new order. Thirty years after the death of Mohammed a civil war broke out over the succession to the caliphate. Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed, had been proclaimed his fourth successor, but Moawiyah, an ambitious pretender of Damascus, took up arms against his rival. They met in the battle of Siffin and when Ali's men were pressing their opponents hard Moawiyah's soldiers at the suggestion of Amru one of his generals pierced leaves of the Koran with their spears and raising them aloft shouted "The Law of the Lord! Let it decide betwixt us!" This checked the advance, for in spite of Ali's urging his men cried, "We are called to the Book and we cannot decline it." This appeal to the superstition of the soldiers lost the battle to Ali and the rule of the Mohammedan world passed to a new dynasty. The Book had indeed decided the question of Moslem unity, but it did it through the ingenious trick of the individual commander.

And the same significance of the individual at critical moments appears in the history of the same people less than a century later. By that time the Moslem arms had conquered Arabia, Persia, Syria, Africa and Spain. Because of this conquest one question was confronting Europe—the Crescent or the Cross, Mohammed or Christ? There was indeed serious danger that these fanatical hordes would over-run all Europe and extinguish Christian civilization altogether. Then it was that Charles Martel in 732 united the Germanic armies against the common foe and in the decisive battle of Poitiers, as it is commonly called, inflicted such a defeat upon the Moslems that they were soon driven out of Europe. Of the effect of this battle an eminent historian has said that if the Moslem arms had not then been turned back the interpretation of the Koran instead of the Bible might have been taught at the schools of Oxford and Cambridge. Imagination is bewildered in the attempt to trace the devastation which Moslem fanaticism might have wrought over Europe and America and the islands of the sea now blessed by the sway of a Christian civilization. The battle illustrates the significance of the in-

dividual in deciding results in a system of balanced and opposing forces. By this one victory Europe was saved from Mohammed and the Anglo-Saxon mind which was yet to sway the world was rescued for a Christian tutelage.

Here we close our study of the various forms of influence possible in the human world. The result is to confirm the conviction reached in previous chapters that the system of social order instead of crippling and thwarting the individual rather furnishes him with instruments and opportunities for the highest possible development and the most far-reaching influence.

CHAPTER IX.

GRADES OF INFLUENCE.

Having examined the several methods by which the influence of the individual is transmitted and increased, we have now to consider the different grades of influence and the conditions which determine them. What is it that distinguishes the potent from the impotent lives, the great men of enduring fame from the many little men who are soon forgotten? In other words we ask the question, What is needful to get the highest grade of influence?

The several grades, as we have already seen, are settled to some extent by the method which the individual employs. If a man works through the diffusive method his influence will be vague, spasmodic and without fixed control; if through succession, it will ordinarily be limited to the routine of life. If he operates by divergence his influence will be more deliberate, better regulated and more far-reaching; if by convergence his effec-

tiveness will be increased because the forces which he controls are more concentrated and because he can at times avail himself of forces that are unforeseen. In the germinal method the grade of influence is still higher, for here the individual may deliberately affect the whole of civilization by awakening and inspiring a great mind or by originating principles and institutions that contain the seeds of vast development. Finally, the highest influence of all is exercised by the individual who occupies the point of control in the correlative method.

Manifestly, however, the grade of an individual's influence is not determined altogether by the method which he utilizes. It depends also upon his power to lead men. Capacity for leadership is a personal matter and cannot always be exactly analyzed. Yet in the main it is safe to say that the traits of character which great leadership requires are sagacity, integrity, perseverance and that indefinable thing which we call magnetism.

Sagacity is peculiarly necessary for the organizer who has to adjust many conflicting interests and unite them in a compact working force. This is seen in the case of Augus-

tus who worked out the system of government for the Roman Empire; in the contributions made to church law and administration by such a pope as Innocent III.; and in the work of Bismark in founding the German empire. Lincoln also displayed this virtue in the highest degree, in the joint debate with Douglas for the Illinois senatorship in 1858, and later, when as President he temporarily set aside the question of slavery, and seized upon the only issue that could solidify the North against the South—"Union or disunion."

Further, the truly essential leader of men must possess integrity of character. This quality is based on conscience. To have great influence, one must show sincerity of purpose as well as trained intellectual powers. Since social operations depend upon general confidence, the leader must prove that he can be depended upon. Lord Althorp who led the forces which passed the English Reform Bill of 1832 had no oratorical power and very little statesmanship, but his perfect sincerity and purity of purpose caused abler men to rally round him and unwillingly subordinate themselves to him. A notable instance in classic times is that of Nicias the

Athenian. Without great executive capacity or force of character, he commanded such universal confidence because of his high pecuniary integrity—not a very common virtue in Greece—that he was placed at the head of the great Athenian expedition against Syracuse.

Integrity of character, in its supreme exhibition, includes disinterestedness. Nothing gives a leader greater power than the knowledge on the part of the people that he has no personal interest to subserve by the measure he advocates. For example, the influence of such aristocrats as the Marquis de Lafayette and the Vicomte de Noailles, in the French Revolution, was greatly enhanced by the general knowledge that they were giving up their own privileges and sacrificing much of their own possessions for the public good.

A third essential qualification for leadership is perseverance. This quality rests on the will. Every leader must acquire patience and persistence. He must be willing to labor for a remote end, and to wait long for the full results of his efforts. A notable instance of steadfastness is that of Robert Bruce in the Scotch War against Edward I. and Edward II. He was defeated again and

again, and reduced at times to the greatest straits. But he would never give up the cause. Gradually he made head against the English forces and finally inflicted upon them a crushing defeat.

In the fourth place, the leader must have the quality of magnetism. Personal magnetism appears to be based on sympathy. But, whatever its origin, it is the quality which enables a born leader, often without visible effort, to gain the loyalty and affection of his followers. Brasidas the Spartan is said to have won over many of the adherents of Athens by the mere charm of his manners and bearing. Lord Bolingbroke seems to have cast a kind of spell over his contemporaries, both men and women. Carl Schurz writes of Henry Clay: "The remarkable fascination he exercised seems to have reached even beyond his living existence. More than thirty years after his death, we hear old men who knew him in the days of his strength speak of him with enthusiasm and affection so warm and fresh as to convince us that the recollection of having followed his leadership is among the dearest treasures of their memories." Great leaders have sometimes lacked this gift of inspiring devotion, but all who

have possessed it have found it of immense service. On the other hand, if personal magnetism is altogether wanting, one may be as sagacious as Hildebrand or Bismark, as incorruptible as Nicias, and as courageous and persevering as Robert Bruce, and yet fail to achieve or maintain a position as leader of men.

Yet even if the individual has all the qualities of leadership and applies them in the most effective of the six methods, the grade of his influence will ultimately depend on the sphere in which he operates. Four spheres of social operations may be specified: the economic, the educational, the governmental and the religious. Though not always completely separable from one another, these four departments of human activity are distinct enough in their main outlines to serve as a satisfactory classification.

In the economic sphere we include all forms of industry, commerce, finance and invention. These provide opportunity for large influence on the part of the so-called "captains of industry," whose predominant traits are the power to see the situation and to dominate it, executive ability, mastery of details and skill in marshalling forces. The present age is a

witness to their power. They are the men who cover the ocean with ships, tunnel through mountains, delve into the earth for mineral wealth and harness steam and electricity to drive the machinery of factories.

The power of the individual in the economic sphere is working on a colossal scale in the great transportation systems of America. A man of insight and talent for organization rises in the service until he reaches an important position. He becomes known as an efficient manager. He gains the confidence of business men so that he can finance necessary improvements. Before many years the railroad of which he is the controlling mind is conspicuous for its excellences. Then the keen mind of this captain of industry sees larger opportunities in the relation of the railroad system of a certain section of the country. He plans to readjust trunk lines, to coördinate and control a united system covering thousands of miles; and presently his influence is felt throughout half a continent.

The sphere of government subordinates and utilizes economic agencies. It offers greater opportunities to the individual and makes higher demands on his powers. The very words, King, Emperor, army, parlia-

ment, congress; the mere names of Cæsar, Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, Peter of Russia, Pitt, Richelieu, Cavour, and Bismark, call up in our minds historical associations which well illustrate the significance of the governmental sphere. The loyalties and feelings evoked by economic industrial leaders seem insignificant in comparison with the sentiment evoked by the great political leaders.

In the educational sphere men gain a higher grade of influence. This sphere includes not only our school system but all the means of knowledge and information: books, periodicals and the daily press. These educators make their appeal to the inner forces of life; they instruct, they persuade, they move. They gain control over minds in the formative state and train them for their work in the world. Such power is wielded by the winning force of education. The educator has the opportunity to shape the policy of the university, to coördinate its departments, to impress its influence upon the preparatory school and in fact to create a complete educational system. Long after school days are over the educators still wield their influence in a thousand different ways.

Prepared by these influences of education the individual moves along with increasing power amid the activities of life. By the daily press current events are recorded; by periodicals, theories in civic life are discussed; and libraries are filled with volumes which keep society in touch with the latest stages of civilization. All who lead in the dissemination of knowledge, who define and enunciate the principles of truth and of conduct are affecting the ideals upon which all civilization is founded.

Finally, the highest sphere in life is the religious. Religious influences are stronger than others because they take hold on higher qualities in man's nature. Religion appeals not only to the intellect, the imagination and the emotions, but also to the conscience and to the affections in their higher exercise. It is as wide as humanity and as old as the race. It is a fundamental element in society. Political and social institutions have always been based to a certain extent on religious beliefs or have been modified to conform to them. The history of religion is the history of the world.

A new religious idea may create a new civilization or hold an old one together when

it would otherwise fall to pieces. The Parsees formed a nation centuries ago, and still survive in India with undiminished vitality. The warring tribes who accepted Mohammed became in a moment the Arabian people. The Jews would long ago have disappeared, as a race, were it not for their religion. The supremacy of the religious interest is proved by the firmness with which men stand for it, preferring it to every secular tie. The willingness of the Huguenots and the Puritans to expatriate themselves for the sake of their faith is typical. Religious influences have changed the map of the world. They have reconstructed society. They bind together peoples separated by oceans and continents or by the still more formidable barriers of race and language and inherited hostility. They are destined to become the most powerful of all agents in bringing about the federation of mankind.

Those leaders, therefore, who have moulded the religious convictions of the race have affected society more deeply than captains of industry, or kings, or great educators. Such names as Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, Moses and Mohammed are proof enough that

the highest of all grades of influence is that exerted in the sphere of religion.

In closing our discussion of the several spheres of influence, one cautionary remark may be necessary. For convenience we have treated each sphere by itself but of course there is no implication that they are perfectly distinct from each other in actual experience. Government is largely concerned with economic matters. Politics may become a medium for the highest ideal effort and be lifted even into the sphere of religion. And religion itself is not a thing apart. It is the spirit of life and as such it must have continual reference to the natural conditions of existence. These are not to be neglected. Still less are they to be denounced as unspiritual. They are rather to be spiritualized by the religious principles, so that the whole of life may be brought into harmony with that which is highest in our nature.

Thus far our study of the grades of influence has proceeded step by step. The methods, the personal qualities and the spheres of activity that we have treated are common to all mankind in some degree. We come now to a class by itself which re-

fuses to be subjected to comparative analysis. We have to consider Men of Genius.

Great men must be accepted as data; in other words, they can never be wholly explained but must be taken as they are. Furthermore, the genius does not conform to the type but is conspicuous for his departures from it. He is a "social variation." The ordinary man lives largely by imitating and fits his opinions to those of his time; but the genius does not so much conform to society as compel society to conform to him. He blazes new trails. In affairs he is relatively independent of system operations. In intellectual and aesthetic realms he disregards the conventions and judgments of the crowd, and expresses his own individuality. Yet because of his kinship with us at our own highest spiritual levels we feel that he is really expressing the powers that are latent in ourselves. He is the heroic man in whom we find the realization of our own ideals.

The fundamental trait of genius is independence. The man of genius somehow derives from himself the power and the insight which others borrow from the community. And because he does not conform to the type, he cannot, as a rule, coöperate with others,

but must work alone; and the work which he achieves remains as a permanent monument of his preëminence. This quality of self-reliance appears progressively as we pass from the genius in affairs to the genius in thought, and from the genius in thought to the genius in imagination.

The man of genius in affairs is distinguished from the ordinary man of action by his superiority to the social instruments which he finds about him. Instead of being determined by these he turns them to his use and refashions them to suit his own original designs. To this practical type belong the great rulers and statesmen,—men like Alexander who hurled Europe against Asia, destroyed the ancient regime and in a few brief years laid the cornerstones of a half-dozen kingdoms; and like Julius Cæsar who founded the Roman Empire and through his conquest of Gaul established Roman civilization in the heart of western Europe. A more conspicuous example is Napoleon who not only turned an army enthusiastic for republicanism, with officers who thought themselves abler generals than he, into a loyal and admiring force to sustain his own usurpation, but also formed from old and haughty independent

states a huge empire which later found much difficulty in breaking away from his rule.

The genius in thought is represented by the great scientists and philosophers. In Newton's constructive mind were laid the foundations of the whole modern movement in exact science. His great generalization of the fundamental conceptions of mechanics was the work of a single intellect free from convention, seeing things with originality and over a wider range. In a similar way Darwin and Pasteur through their freedom from mere tradition, through the combination in them of daring and rigorous method, have marked epochs in the history of science. Plato, Spinoza and Kant, among the philosophers, have through their speculative genius contributed to human life certain imperishable records of unique insight and lofty modes of contemplation.

But even scientists and philosophers are not wholly self-sufficient. Their task is inherited from their predecessors and their work in turn is transmitted to successors by whom in the course of time it is corrected and expanded. Only the genius who works with the imagination and expresses himself in art can be said fully to exemplify that internal

power and aloofness which is the mark of this type of individual.

No doubt the great painter, sculptor, musician or poet is a leader of humanity. He makes his appeals to the deeper emotional nature common to all; his interests are as wide as the world. Yet he is not so much conscious of serving others as he is of being himself. His activity does not depend upon the support of others or upon the use of any social mechanism whatsoever. He bears the same relation to those he leads that the moon bears to the tides. He goes his way in his appointed orbit independently of the effect he produces, believing that his life has a purpose in some higher plan and that its fruitfulness will follow without any concern on his own part.

The genius may have no advantage of rank or wealth; may build on no man's foundations; may share his labors with no fellow-worker; and yet, by virtue of his special endowment, he becomes a power among men to the remotest generations. His achievement remains unique. It speaks for itself. He has chiseled in marble his visions of grace and strength, or portrayed on canvas his sense of beauty and mystery. He has shown

in the drama the hidden springs of human action. His imagination has thrown its charm over the shifting scenes of common life in the novel. He has written poems that console the troubled, or has composed melodies that inspire the worshipper. His early years may have been passed in a humble home and among rustic neighbors; but travellers from many lands later make pilgrimages to the cottage where he was born and visit his grave with reverence as if it were a shrine.

Twenty centuries ago there appeared among men a person whose influence upon humanity has been without a parallel. The historic Christ fulfills most perfectly the conditions of the loftiest grade of influence—namely, that personality and sphere of work shall both be supreme. If we compare Christ with any man of genius, his preëminence appears both in his appeal to the deepest life of the soul and in the fruits of his labors. The man of genius appeals to the sensibilities and to the imagination, and excites admiration and enthusiasm. Christ appeals to the moral and religious consciousness and calls forth love and devotion and reverence. The work of the man of genius is the creation of beauty or thought in painting, statue, or

poem. The work of Christ is the redemption of mankind. Christ's power is manifest in the changed lives of men and in the subordination of all the secular forces of society to the establishment of a developing Kingdom of God. Nation after nation has come under his sway. Opposing forces, one after another, have been met and conquered and brought into His service. Movements which He began have enlisted the greatest minds of succeeding centuries. And a new social consciousness, influenced with his spirit now demands that all the forces of society work together for the interests of his kingdom.

Thus have the different grades of influence passed in review. The common men may be compared to the group of trees in the valley of Chamounix in Switzerland. Each, though distinct, still resembles the others. The captains of the social spheres are like the foothills. The men of genius are like the individual peaks, each distinct from the others. But Christ is like the snow-white Mont Blanc that towers above them all. The crowning summit has a peculiar significance and a glory all its own. Long after the valleys have lost the light of day, it catches the rays of the sun and reflects them in peace-

ful benediction to the dwellers below. And long before the surrounding peaks are lighted by the coming dawn, it catches the foregleams of the sun and summons the traveler to rise and hail the King of Day.

CHAPTER X.

TENDENCIES TO PERMANENCE.

We have now discussed the mechanism of society and have studied the several types of action which give scope and efficiency to individual effort. It is immediately manifest that all social actions have some tendency to permanence. They are not fleeting in their nature or their products, but have an abiding quality and issue in results that endure. Otherwise no such thing as progress would be conceivable.

By permanence, of course we do not mean changelessness. If society is to last, it must be able to adjust itself to new conditions as a physical organization adapts itself to a new environment. But with this constant growth and adaptation, there is an underlying continuity which joins past, present and future as phases of the same system. In this chapter we consider the ground of this continuity, or those tendencies in human life which make for social permanence.

We shall consider first, the intrinsic qualities of permanence, in the individuals and in their connections; for the permanence of any system depends primarily on the constancy of the integers and of the nexus that binds them together. Nothing durable can be made out of perishable parts or out of parts that are loosely joined.

First, then, there are mutual differences in the durability of the integers. Varying with the degree of permanence desired, the house-builder uses blocks of wood, brick, sand stone or granite. Here there is an intrinsic difference in the nature of the material integers, which can only be accepted as a fact of which no account can be given or which must be referred to the creative plan. If we consider a social system a similar fact appears. Its stability depends on the nature of the individual members of which the system is composed. In each human being there is an indefinable personal equation or quality, due partly to heredity, partly to we know not what. Men differ as to their stability. Some are strong and firm; others are weak and fickle. In untrustworthy men, only the superficial aspect of human nature finds expression. For instance, the intellectual passion

for truth holds the scientific investigator firm in his search for an understanding of the laws of nature; and he continues at his task for a lifetime, if need be. Men of ideals are noted for their persistency and their determination to bring to pass what the ideal demands. These are the men who can be counted on for enduring service, and who can always be found at the post of duty. They are the granitic characters of society, who would die rather than yield. Such were the generals who interpreted and carried out Napoleon's plans, making France for a time the dominant nation in Europe. Their successors of sixty years later, through lack of these very qualities, gave her up, an easy prey, to Von Moltke's army.

Social organizations, large or small, built up with trustworthy individuals will, of course, be the more permanent. Associations made up of the unstable class will quickly disintegrate unless they are held together by external compulsion. An association composed of the solid business men of the community, is much more permanent than one composed of shiftless vagabonds or the idle rich.

Such variation in stability may be observed not only among individuals of the same race, but also in comparing races with each other. Some races are still infants in all that concerns firmness of purpose and steadiness of action, and their social and political organizations are correspondingly undeveloped. Only the crudest systems of government are stable in such cases. Any advanced system, if imposed upon these races from without, soon perishes, or is continually disturbed by reaction and revolution.

And there must be permanence not only in the integers but in their connections. A group united by some temporary interest—a card or camera club, for instance—is not likely to hold together as long as a political club, a literary or scientific society or a trade union. Associations for moral and religious purposes are most permanent of all since the ties that bind them are the eternal interests of mankind.

But to secure permanence these component parts of a system must have also a harmonious adjustment of its internal forces. A fine chronometer may be ruined by a loose screw or a broken cog. In the human body, if one organ gets out of adjustment with the others,

the health and stability of the whole is endangered. In like manner there must be adjustment and agreement in the internal forces of a social group or system. So long as all the members of a social group agree about the principles upon which the organization is founded and the purpose which it is to serve, and thus work together harmoniously, there is little question of its stability. But when the internal forces cannot be brought into agreement, the organizations have a brief career. Domestic maladjustment disrupts a family; internal discord is the reason for the failure of so many of the American communistic societies; schisms within religious bodies prevent their growth and lead to their early decay. Many societies organized for moral reform have gone to pieces because the members disagreed on fundamental principles. The impossibility of adjusting conflicting political and economic interests brought on our civil War. History is replete with instances of governments whose stability was destroyed by their internal discord.

Still another condition of social permanence is adaptation of the internal forces of a system to its environment. Biology teaches

us that this condition is essential to the survival of an organism. The fauna and flora of a given region are adapted to the peculiar conditions of climate and soil; and they can survive elsewhere only when the conditions are practically the same. Now this principle of adaptation which is fundamental in the natural realm is operative also in man's individual and social career. The human individual must be fitted for his environment if he would live his largest life.

For the sake of clearness, the environment may be studied in three phases—physical, social and moral. Each of these makes on both individuals and groups certain requisitions which must be met if survival or permanence is to result.

The steady influence of physical environment is apparent in the permanence that results from investments. A man's stability in his calling and in his social relations is much increased by the acquisition of property. He must remain where his vested interests are. If his initial outlay is to be saved he must generally continue the operations for which it was originally made. The real estate and materials utilized for a business plant may be available only for the work designed,

and in any case it is difficult to realize upon them in a moment without sacrificing goodwill and commercial advantage. Accordingly it is found in times of social disturbance and industrial unrest, that men with property have a stability beyond others. Employers of labor of all kinds recognize this fact. Thus the nature of the industrial environment tends to steadiness in the individual; and this in turn reacts to produce permanence in society.

And what is true of individual investments applies with even greater force to collective outlay. If the government undertakes a series of great public improvements, the outlay as the work goes on makes it more and more difficult to alter the design. Let a national government resolve to locate a new capital city. The plan of such a city may be adopted and incorporated into a law. Within the first few years, the plan or law may be easily modified; but if the law continues and the buildings of the city are conformed to the original plan for a hundred years, change will be an entirely different matter: any extensive modification will affect many streets and imposing structures. In some respects it would be desirable to have the capital of

the United States in the Mississippi Valley or to rebuild San Francisco across the Bay. But this cannot be. Too much money has been invested in the present site, and any suggestion of a removal is idle and preposterous.

Even greater than the restrictive and steadying influences of physical environment are those of social environment. The individual must adjust himself to the requirements of society if he is to survive, and such adaptation has a powerful tendency to establish permanence. Observe this in a man's preparation for his chosen calling. His faculties have a limited season in which they can be trained for the work of life. In youth the mental powers are pliant, adaptable; but these conditions pass and with them passes the opportunity for easy change of one's vocation. If the faculties are long exercised in one direction, they cannot well be made to work efficiently in any other. The dividing line may seem slight when the choice is first made, but it becomes more and more fixed as time goes on and so in the long run permanency is secured.

In general, as society becomes more highly organized preparation for its duties must be

more thorough. The same tendency is present in industrial life; the demand is for higher technical skill and better general education. Unskilled labor is displaced by machinery as communities become more progressive, and ignorance and incompetency are increasingly at a disadvantage.

With the growing complexity of life and its keener competition, greater specialization is constantly necessary. Men are forced to confine themselves to one department of law or medicine or art; and the claims of the chosen profession limit action in other directions. Since, therefore, the individual who would succeed in a trade or a profession must measure up to the new standards, he must avail himself of his opportunities, to the utmost. If he would sit in the seats of the mighty, he must make thorough preparation to gain and keep them. The time for this is the plastic period of youth when one is readily adaptable and able to acquire dexterity of hand and quickness of brain. As time passes there comes increasing efficiency, which would all be lost if the vocation were changed. Moreover, as the stage of plasticity passes, ability to change passes also. The necessity of earning a livelihood, and the fact that for

most men there are few places where they can find employment, are forces which give steadiness to modern society.

The same principle of adaptation to the social environment holds true with reference to groups and institutions. They too, like individuals, must be fitted to their environment if they would survive. And their degree of permanence is conditioned by the nicety of their adaptation.

The institutions which chiefly fall under this principle are of two kinds, social and political. The former are more permanent and important, since they concern the very life of the people; the latter are relatively unimportant. To the former belong all the great social traditions and customs, the institutions of the family, the school and the church, with all the usages that have grown out of them and around them. Here belong also the fundamental laws of trade, freedom of contract and all the mercantile customs that rule the business world, together with the laws of property, inheritance, bequest, etc. On these our civilization itself depends. On the other hand, political forms might change profoundly without seriously affecting this social order. If the English government

should become republican in form it would alter very slightly the essential order of English life, just as our own country is identical under all changes of administration. But the same law of adaptation applies to both social and political institutions. A social system which is ill-adapted to the demands made upon it has lost all reason for existence, and must soon disintegrate and disappear. A glance into history confirms this statement. Institutions which have been forced upon a community with no consideration for its character, or for its special needs, have soon passed away. Mexico for example is a republic in name, but an autocracy in fact, because the people need a dictator—whatever he may be called. Even when unadapted institutions have been imposed by conquest, the conquered people have either thrown them off, or transformed them to meet their own needs. German barbarians in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era overran the Roman territory in western Europe, allowed the title of emperor to lapse, and introduced customs altogether foreign to the life of the civilized provinces. Such changes could not be permanent. The civilization of the vanquished slowly altered the uncouth customs

of the victors; the old provinces became Roman kingdoms; and the idea of the empire survived with such persistency that even its substance was restored by Charlemagne in the year 800. In fact the barbarians conquered Rome in outward form, but Rome conquered the barbarians in spirit.

Institutions which fail to adjust themselves to changing conditions, cannot be permanent. Feudalism disappeared in Europe, and more recently in Japan, because it was politically outgrown. Germany was united despite the protest of petty sovereigns because new conditions demanded the empire. Modern systems of government ensure stability by providing lawful means of amending constitutions as occasion may require.

History furnishes many examples of institutions not necessarily good in themselves which have shown astonishing tenacity of life because they are peculiarly fitted to their immediate social environment. The Spartan oligarchy, with its crude communism, its irksome discipline and its rigid parsimony, lasted for centuries because only under such a system could a small military upper class maintain its rule, or even its individuality, among the larger body of native agriculturists.

Among the more cultured, liberal and statesman-like Athenians, supported by their external dependencies rather than by a subject population at home, an oligarchy would have been impossible. In a like manner the maintenance by the Venetians of the largest commercial empire then existent made possible and even indispensable, a vigorous oligarchy and a searching police system which the neighboring city of Florence with its localized interests would have found intolerable. Mohammedanism owes its strong hold upon Eastern nations largely to the fact that it is well suited to their temper, by its monarchical idea of the Deity, by its showy rites and by its public devotions. Whatever the form of a government may be, it must be adapted to the genius and conditions of the people if it is to endure.

But the supreme adaptation demanded of the individual or of any social system is the moral environment. The human race has worked out certain great principles of justice and mutual confidence and good-will which are essential to its life and progress. These are the basal laws of society. Character in the individual consists in a right adjustment

to these principles, and he whose character is best is fittest to survive.

The necessity for adaptation to the moral environment shows itself more clearly in the case of social groups and institutions. In that larger sphere history reveals a "power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," and that holds all human kind to the test of harmony with eternal moral principles. The individual life is often too short-sighted to enable it to see the moral law fully vindicate itself, but when we read the record of peoples and nations we perceive the moral factor plainly at work and increasingly dominant. In the long run only justice and integrity can exalt a nation. A people devoted to the life of the senses is already decadent and Nemesis is at the door. A nation built on oppression and inhumanity invites the social earthquake that shall overthrow it. Slavery was peculiarly adapted to the economic conditions of the South, and it appeared to be impregnably fortified by commercial interests and ecclesiastical conservatism. But it fell because it was out of harmony with the moral law. The Western nations, in their dealings with Oriental races, seem likely to learn before long that insolence and rapacity

are costly, and that permanent relations can be established only on the basis of a common humanity and reciprocal justice.

We turn now to the consideration of rational life in which the law of habit demands particular attention in any treatment of the tendencies which make for permanence. Habit is, to be sure, a secondary force; for other forces must act—and act repeatedly—before it can even come into existence. Yet it permeates every phase of individual and collective life and its influence is always powerfully exerted in the direction of stability.

Any train of ideas or any course of action, if often repeated, becomes fixed. We are unconsciously impelled to think, to feel or to do what under like circumstances we have previously thought or felt or done.

And so habit binds to the past and prevents capricious change, whether in thought or action. Habit enables us to store up the results of effort. It is a kind of biological savings bank in which we deposit our earnings and where they lie at compound interest for our account. Without habit we should never accumulate vital capital but should live, as it were, from hand to mouth. Habit makes work light, for it lessens the conscious

movements required, makes them more accurate and regular, and minimizes fatigue. We do the accustomed things unconsciously; and are thus left free to give our conscious effort to new and difficult tasks. Routine is the great means of securing ease and precision in individual action, and these are the rewards of habit. Habit has kept business men in the office long after their fortunes were made and all financial interest in the firm has ceased. Passive states of the mind, such as reveries, may become so delightful that they cannot be interrupted without pain. The man of science and the artist never lose their enthusiasm. Their work is so inspiring that they cannot leave the laboratory or the studio without regret. The philanthropist may begin his career of benevolence without relish and only under an imperative sense of duty, but he soon feels an ever-increasing glow of enjoyment in doing good. Thus habit adds zest to tasks which may have been indifferent or difficult at first, and supplies a constantly augmenting impulse towards continuance of effort and stability of results.

Clearly, then, we must recognize in habit a powerful influence for stability in every sphere of human effort. True, in the higher

and more complex activities of life it does not dominate, but even in these its power is continually felt and whenever it operates it makes for permanence.

Diffusive forces are subject to the law of habit in two ways. On the one hand, thought, sentiment or action which emanates from certain centers tends to become fixed and uniform; on the other, individuals or groups that are frequently subjected to certain influences grow to be peculiarly susceptible to them. Thus elderly people are often wedded to a single newspaper, and impressionable persons listen to only one leader. Customs are only diffused habits. They arise when the same influence is diffused in such a manner that all the members of a social group are forming the same habit at the same time. How important this is for the race is evident. Herein lies the natural history of the development not only of languages, but of those manners, forms of conduct and traditional beliefs that give a nation its distinctive quality.

Passing on to the method of succession, we observe that when influences are constantly repeated in a certain order a routine of operation develops. Such repetition estab-

lishes a line of least resistance for subsequent activity. Men are prone to walk in the beaten tracks. Highways are laid out along the trails worn by the feet of the pioneer. The streets in great cities follow the paths and lanes of ancient villages. So custom may keep up a practice long after its usefulness has ceased. The prevalence of "red tape" in governments in the older countries is a familiar example. Fixed tenure of office is not an unadulterated good, for official conservatism is likely to cling to antiquated methods. This tendency of repetition to hold all acts to the particular line of a continuous series is whimsically, but forcibly, illustrated by the anecdote of a retired naval officer, who had a mound of earth raised in his garden, of the form and size of his quarter deck, on which to take his morning walks. It is recorded that a prisoner in the Bastille, liberated after thirty years' confinement found the ties of custom so strong that he returned and begged to be again shut up in his narrow cell.

The forces of diffusion and succession are connected with the more spontaneous and instinctive operations of society, and here the power of habit is peculiarly conspicuous.

The higher social forces to which we now turn are regulated to an ever increasing degree by the intelligence and initiative of men. But although, for this reason, their operation does not wholly assume the form of habit, they are none the less modified by it, and owe to it very largely the permanence of their results.

When social operations follow the method of divergence the habits formed at the center persist, and serve as bonds between the center and each member of the system. Thus solidarity is effected, in spite of the scattering of individuals in the pursuit of their several interests. College life, for instance, is one of the most lasting of social influences. Young students come together from diverse surroundings, to spend four years in daily lessons, in social intercourse and in common pastimes. They go back to their homes with memories that have taken lasting hold on the nature and exert at times a powerful sway. The heart is thrilled by the news of each recurring commencement. The influence of an honored instructor is recalled when he dies or lays down his office. At class reunions the graduates look back to their student years and understand how the

college teaching round which so many later social forces have clustered, has been perpetuated in character and in achievement for the public good at seasons of stress and calamity. No one can participate in such a reunion without recognizing the power of habit to fix noble influences which, as they continue, acquire an accumulating tendency to permanence.

The method of convergence is more permanent than that of divergence, because it involves not only control, but also reciprocal support, increasing as the parts of the system come nearer together. Social gatherings, infrequent or regular, and the massing of men in centers of population, provide for the formation of collective habits, based on "like-mindedness." Since the forces are knit together more closely as they converge, the habits likewise interlace and strengthen one another. Industrial convergence, for example, tends strongly to perpetuate itself by social habit. London won its place as the financial center of the world largely by virtue of the maritime supremacy of England. And now the finances of other countries have adjusted themselves so thoroughly to this state of things through countless repetition

in all manner of transactions, that the center could not be shifted without a general disorganization of business. Even if its initial advantages should pass away, London would long retain its position because of the extreme difficulty of adjusting the complex financial system of the world to any other center.

The bearing of habit on germination is still more important. Habits formed during the growing period influence and determine the mature organism. The strength of home ties illustrates this truth. Such ties, formed in early youth, hold firm to the very end of life. Indeed, they are never stronger than in old age, which restores early associations interrupted by the activities of mature years. In the arm of the sea at full tide it is difficult to locate the true channel; but when the tide has ebbed the small streams yet flowing bring its course to view. So, when the tumult of action has subsided, the quiet of old age reveals the true channel of the soul's experience. The old man remembers distinctly events of his youth. At the time they seemed to be of no special importance; but it is now evident that they have had strong influence upon his life. He recalls the chance remark which led to a new departure in his

career; the decision for the right against the pressure of wrong, which has served as a guide in successive and divergent paths.

In his early days he formed ideals of his work, of wealth to be amassed, of high station to be reached, of noble service to be rendered. Whether he has attained them or not, his very recollection of such ideals shows that they have lasted and have exercised a permanent influence upon his character. This principle applies equally to society in general. The essential nature of an organism cannot be altered by outside influences. Through every change of soil and climate the oak is still an oak; it maintains the character that was implicit in the original acorn. So the essential nature of social institutions persists in spite of great changes in environment. The work of the founders of New England impressed itself at the outset on only a few hundred persons, but it created a special type of men and certain social and political ideas. The population of New England now numbers millions, including hundreds of thousands of foreigners, yet the type endures to-day, and newcomers adjust themselves to the social ideal.

The significance of habit in germinal systems becomes even more impressive when we consider the overlapping of generations. If, as in certain lower forms of animal life, the death of one human generation followed immediately upon the birth of the next, no social heritage would be possible. Social permanence begins when the parents live long enough to teach their offspring. The extended period of human infancy enables a man to enter upon his active career in fuller possession of what his ancestors have gained. And this he will hand on, in his turn, as a part of that ever-increasing fund of powers and resources which we call civilization. This overlapping of generations insures us against any sudden or violent break with the past. For, whatever convulsions occur in politics or religion, the great mass of social actions and habits survive, and society can pursue its course as a continuous and developing system.

All the factors thus described as making for permanence are gathered up and made more effective by the correlations that obtain in a developed social order. In a correlative system not only do the lower forms of social action become habitual, but their

correlations also tend to become fixed. For this reason such a system is more permanent than any other, because the interconnection and independence of part tends to brace and strengthen the whole structure. The more elaborate organization subordinates lesser forces to the common good and unites them in the service of the social whole.

We find this principle illustrated first of all in the life of the individual himself. A person with few social ties easily becomes socially unstable and anarchic, while the man with a family or relatives depending on him, in that fact gives security for good behavior. In the same way the man with property or who has investments of any kind, other things being equal, will be socially more stable than a man with nothing. Accordingly it is found in times of social disturbance and industrial unrest that married men and men with something to lose have a stability beyond all others. And man's occupation tends to produce a type of thought and life that makes for permanence in itself and that also correlates him with all others of the same occupation. In this way common interests are developed which react upon individuals and bind them more firmly together.

Trades-unionism, professional feeling and even caste itself have their roots in this fact of correlated interests.

This same tendency of correlated interests to make for permanence and stability finds fuller illustration in the industrial and financial world. Its usages and mutual interests are so correlated that the business men of the community become its most conservative force. They have been organized but a short time, yet from their correlative operations they have a tendency to permanence. This tendency is still stronger when, under the law of correlative repetition, they have been pursuing these lives of business for a long time. They have "given hostages to fortune" and do not like revolutions. The Northern business men of 1850-1860 naturally shrank from the vast commercial disorganization which would result from the sundering of ties with the South. The trading class as a whole was adverse to the American Revolution. Business men forced Marmont to surrender Paris to the allies in 1814, to prevent a bombardment. These material interests are among the most powerful factors that are making for universal peace and the federation of the world. They are displacing

the predatory and belligerent type of thought, by showing the costliness and waste of war, and it is the lack of just such interwoven interests in some South American countries which causes them to be so unstable, and this anarchy in turn prevents their growth. Nicaragua lost its chief source of prosperity, the culture of indigo, long before aniline dyes began to displace indigo, because incessant revolutions kept the working class so disturbed that labor could not be counted on when needed and capital refused to take the risk.

Thus we see how business interests are interwoven with political interests. Corporations become social institutions and give both direction and solidity to political and governmental activity. As the individual is sobered and steadied by his investments, so the community itself is steadied by its investments in civilization which more and more demand social permanence as their supreme condition. And the same insight that is displacing military war is also displacing industrial war. Strikes and lockouts are seen to be too costly to be indulged in needlessly, and a greater thoughtfulness on both sides is resulting.

In the field of national life also we find correlation making for permanence. Habitual correlations in the unorganized forces of national life produce and maintain a national type of thought, action and feeling. The bond of nationality is strengthened by a thousand subtle associations of sky and mountain, of shore and valley. It is strengthened by familiar idioms and proverbs, by phrases of salutation and forms of hospitality. Even sports and pastimes and forms of recreation connected with national holidays serve to strengthen the feeling of solidarity and to unite the individual with his fellows in one great family. Sentiments peculiar to the temper and environment of a people find expression in poetry and the songs of the poet are set to music that finds an echo in every heart. Patriotic ballads are cherished by the colony that carries national customs over sea; they take firm hold on the national life and retain it for centuries; they nerve the soldier to die in defense of his country. On the field of conquest, in a distant land, such airs have even been known to spread homesickness like an epidemic so that it has been necessary to forbid the bands to play them. Such expressions of national feeling sym-

bolize the essential unity of a people. They give a distinctive tone that differentiates one nation from another; they draw fellow-countrymen together wherever they chance to meet, and confirm the strength and permanence of a national tie.

The correlations in national life that make for permanence become still more effective when they rise above the unorganized influences and take on the form of government. Then a still higher and firmer stability is reached. This too is not the work of a day. Historically, the first step in this direction was the formation of common law. This law was primarily nothing but a custom to which legal sanction was given; but the sanction gave it the permanence and binding quality of law. To some extent the same fact still continues. Customary acts daily repeated acquire legal sanction. A footpath becomes trodden across a field that separates two frequented streets, and if the owner gives no warning to trespassers, after a term of years it becomes by custom a permanent thoroughfare which the original owner is not allowed to close against the public. Business customs also fix the methods of dealing in city and country over half a continent, and in case of

dispute the customs decide the interpretation of the law or contract.

But in modern society constitutions and statute laws are the great forms in which organized governments exist and make for permanence. In the constitution many things are withdrawn from change even by the people themselves except under difficult conditions. In the statutes the attempt is made to conserve the rights of each and to correlate the interests of all so as to reach the maximum of social security and individual opportunity. Thus the framework of civil life and rules are prescribed by which the citizens may do their own work without interfering with their neighbors, and by which they may coöperate in great undertakings. When these laws are wisely made they contribute greatly to patriotic feeling.

The three great reform bills passed by the English parliament in the nineteenth century bound more firmly to the nation the masses of the people by extending the franchise. The state of Virginia increased the enthusiastic loyalty of dissenters in the time of Revolutionary struggle by making religious liberty a part of the law of the land. Some statute laws have been enacted to raise

the people to a higher standard of morality, and by long practice and repetition have become permanent. A single statute law by remaining in operation for centuries has accumulated a distinct force which makes for permanence. And obedience to statute laws by successive generations trains all the people to solidarity of national sentiment. When to these we add the growing community of interest due to the spread of commerce and industry through the more rapid means of communication, and the extension of this community across a continent, we get a more adequate idea of the greatness of the forces in a nation's life that make for permanence.

But none of these forces, nor all of them together, reach the highest result for national permanence until they are correlated with a worthy national history. A noble history is a nation's best asset and the best security that it will endure. The hardships and dangers, the struggles and sacrifices in the early history of a nation, or at some great crisis in the national life, remain a perpetual inspiration for all future generations. Places like Runnymede, or the site of the Bastille, or Independence Hall become shrines for patriotic pilgrimages. Patriotic deeds and

patriotic graves kindle patriotic zeal in the growing youth. The Germans build a monument to Hermann, and every Frenchman who visits the tomb of Napoleon today feels the inspiration that comes from a great past and fires the heart with patriotic devotion. A nation's battlefields do this work even more effectually. To this day the field of Marathon and the bay of Salamis tell the Greeks of the valor and glory of their fathers and stimulate their loyalty. And when on a historic battlefield a worthy monument is raised we have a teacher of patriotism beyond all others eloquent. At the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Webster said: "We rear here a monument to which the nation may turn in moments of disaster and realize that the foundation still stands strong." There is strength beneath such a monument that cannot be measured by the eye. A nation's monuments become its arsenals.

Thus we have traced the natural history of that complex feeling which we call patriotism and we see how many factors enter into it which make for social and national permanence. And thus we see also how the power of correlative habit gathers up all the forces of social life, both organized and un-

organized and unites them into one great national sentiment of solidarity and binds their successive generations of citizens together into an enduring nation.

We have still to consider the tendencies of religion to permanence. We shall find that both in its personal and in its social forms, all the conditions of permanence which we have described are fulfilled in the highest degree.

In the first place, religion fulfills the condition that all the factors of a permanent system shall be durable. The most durable factor in human life is the ideal, because of its spiritual nature and its independence of local or material conditions. Hence religion is strengthened not weakened by its detachment from tangible objects. Let an individual be removed from one field of labor to another, and all the outer manifestations of his life must be modified to suit his new surroundings. But his religion, consisting as it does in a secret communion with God, in a vision of the soul rather than of the bodily eye, need undergo no change when transferred to the new environment. And the social bond created by religion can unite men, notwithstanding all differences of occupation,

language and race, in the imperishable ties of a common faith and spiritual fellowship. Thus though the outer life varies the spiritual life may hold its character unaltered, even when men pass to another land or another world.

In the second place, religion fulfills to a superlative degree the condition that a permanent system must be internally harmonious. It is the function of religion to coördinate all man's higher faculties, so as to establish within the individual life the true spiritual order. Conscience and affection in their subtlest manifestations are woven into a single whole. In the religious life the various activities of the individual are brought into a unity, in which they may be freely exercised but in which they are controlled by a principle which defines their greatest good. In a similar way, religion brings all the various interests of a community into harmonious relations. To it as the paramount interest, all other interests are subordinated. Religion thus tends to eliminate factions and to unite all the elements of society in coöperative activities. It is religion more than any other institution which engages all men in one task and promotes fraternal relations among them.

In the third place, through religion both the individual and society are adjusted to the ultimate environment, to that moral system upon which in the last analysis they depend. Such an adjustment to the moral environment takes precedence over any narrower or lesser adjustment, since discord with the moral plan will, in due season, over-rule any form of harmony which may be established within the narrower limits of society.

In the fourth place, religion acquires permanence from its fulfillment of the conditions of habit. Habit, as we have seen, is based fundamentally on repetition. In religion repetition appears in the periodic recurrence of acts of worship. Religious exercises are designedly arranged on this principle, as is illustrated by the observance of family worship and by the recurring services of the Lord's Day, which have left their mark on the history of Christendom. Customs like these that have survived through generations are stronger than national ties, and will not be changed unless new conditions imperatively require it; and then the change is made in safety, because past habits force every new step to be taken slowly, with caution and against the retarding operation of that which is comparatively fixed.

Such conservatism is wholesome both for the individual and for the community, and religion may be reckoned as a most stable force in life because it resists reckless innovations that might endanger the deepest concerns.

As has been seen, the strength of habit is greatly enhanced when activities are accompanied by an ever-renewed emotional interest, and this is peculiarly the case in religion. Individuals and communities that are habitually religious do not on that account cease to feel deeply. On the contrary, the religious emotions, which are always the deepest and most stirring of all, grow in intensity and vividness when they become an inseparable part of the daily life.

Thus we see in religion the greatest of all the principles that make for stability in both society and the individual. By its commanding spiritual authority it rebukes the anarchic and destructive passions which would work social and individual ruin if left to themselves. By its alliance with the unseen and eternal, it also furnishes the strongest inspiration for the good and sane and joyous life which is the supreme condition of permanence.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF INDIVIDUALISM THROUGH SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

In the preceding chapter we have seen the supreme importance of permanence as a condition of human progress. This permanence is chiefly expressed in the social framework: the laws, customs, traditions and institutions of society, and also in its great systems of religious belief. Into this system we are born, and by it we are moulded and controlled. These facts at once raise the question: What provision does the social order make for the power of the individual? Must he merely take the stamp of society and become in everything that he says and does a mere echo of the community in which he lives? We have already discussed this question to some extent in treating of the Social System and of Individual Initiative, but we must now study it from another point of view—that of

social evolution. Such a study will show that social progress constantly gives the individual greater scope for development and larger opportunities for work and influence. He has more and more freedom to realize himself and more power to give effect to his own personal choices. He need not be a mere social echo. He can be a living voice having his own specific quality and utterance.

Human origins lie in an obscure region which history cannot penetrate. But by inference from known facts and existing laws, we can get some insight into conditions much earlier than our own. It is plain that some measure of coöperation and social feeling was necessary to human existence from the start. This was provided for in parental and social instincts, which resulted in families, clans and tribes—the beginnings of social structure. These instinctive impulses were soon and powerfully reënforced by the social necessities that declared themselves. As we saw in treating of the Social System, the individual needs the support of his neighbors in order to exist at all. This fundamental need is the root of social and political development.

Thus it appears that the social order is rooted in human nature and human needs. Hobbes's assertion that the primal condition of mankind was the "war of all against all" is, if taken literally, a grotesque libel upon humanity. It has some truth when applied to the relations of different tribes but it is psychologically absurd and historically false when applied to the relations of individuals in general. The notion of a "Social contract" whereby men emerged from this belligerent "state of nature" is equally baseless. Man can exist only in some social form and through some measure of social coöperation. Man's dependence upon his fellows and this necessity of social coöperation increase with economic and social progress.

Man learns to govern himself only through the subjection of the wayward individual will to some external authority. This authority may be the will of the superior, the binding custom of the community or the supernatural sanctions of religion. The first step in social progress was therefore the establishment of a stable social order.

Tribal society frequently develops in certain aspects a complex and permanent order. The freedom of the savage exists only in the

imagination of the over-civilized; in reality his life is determined on every hand by an unwritten law enforced for the common good by the common will which ruthlessly destroys the unsubmissive.

Civilization has its origins in the Orient. Natural conditions compelled men to unite in great coöperative works for the public welfare, as in the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and the Hoang-ho. In such peaceful enterprises rather than in adventures of war capable and permanent leaders of men are demanded and developed, and the foundation of city-states are laid. Conflicts for supremacy or the pressure of hostile neighbors lead to the consolidation of these states in national monarchies as in Egypt and Babylonia. At every stage of this progress, as the duties of the individual to his fellows and to his superiors become more numerous and varied, so with equal step his rights are better defined and more secure. His freedom to make and live his own life is enlarged. The king becomes the defender of the defenceless and restrains or coerces the oppressor. Law is no longer merely immemorial prescription adapted perhaps to conditions which have passed away; intelligent legislation begins.

The ruler may be nominally absolute, but his arbitrary will has many effective checks, such as a hereditary aristocracy, established custom having the force of law and religion represented by the growing corporate power of the priesthood. The most effective check of all is the moral sense of the people. Ahab may get Naboth's vineyard, but he seals the doom of his dynasty by this outrage.

The economic complexity of developed civilization opened more varied opportunities to the individual. The enterprising man might gain wealth and wealth was power. The arts flourished and multiplied stimulating the aesthetic gifts. The foundations of science were laid. Intellectual power began to count for more than bodily strength and courage or hereditary station.

With all their shortcomings the ancient monarchies made large contribution not only to civilization but to the development of individuality. They gave little opportunity however to the masses of men to participate in the ordering of affairs, in the choice of rulers or in the making of laws. The great sphere of political activity, the high-school of free individuality, was closed to all but a few. It was in opening these closed doors

that the Greek cities did their great work in the education of mankind. With their conception of at least some men as free-born citizens, the Greeks recognized the rights and possibilities of the individual and initiated our modern ideas of government. For Greek humanism found its deepest and most significant expression in political institutions. The Oriental monarchies had secured that social discipline and stability without which there can be no civilization; but they ignored the right of the governed to take part in the government. It was the Greek democracy which first asserted the principle that the state is more noble than the private individual only because the state is the individual's true sphere, the proper environment in which he can best develop his powers. Patriotism has never glowed more intensely than among the Greeks and this very loyalty to institutions showed the individual's sense of his proprietary interest in them. Aristotle's oft-quoted assertion that "man is a political animal" was based upon observation of his fellow-citizens. The Greeks were indeed "political animals" as no race before them had been. "Their grand object," says Hegel, "was their country in its actual and

living aspect: this actual Athens, this Sparta, these temples, these altars, this form of social life, this union of fellow-citizens, these manners and customs, without which existence was impossible."

The Athenian was a real citizen; he was no mere subject. He belonged to a privileged minority it is true but in him a long step had been taken toward the recognition of the political rights of man. If we examine the conditions which surrounded the ordinary Greek, say of Athens in the time of Pericles, we note two things which distinguished his environment from that of his Oriental contemporary: the first concerns his position in the state; the second, his position in society.

The Athenian was not like the Oriental, a pawn to be used in the game his state happened to be playing. On the contrary, he was free to do as he would, so long as he did not transgress the laws, and the laws were of his own making. Hence he was rather a participating member of the state than a subject, and the small extent of his country made the participation of real moment. He appeared in the ecclesia, and there had a voice in the settlement of public questions. He also had his share in the election of the

governing officials, both civil and military. He was a Heliast, one of the paid jurymen, and as such not only assisted in the administration of justice and the enactment of new laws but in many other duties as well. The highest office was not beyond his reach, for the many subsidiary offices would give him a start in public life; and once started, a capable man had no difficulty in rising.

The Athenian was free from the trammels of caste; instead of being born into a status he was born into almost limitless opportunity. He was not committed once and for all to some special form of livelihood but was taught to look upon life as an opportunity to improve himself, to multiply his resources and to find his own ideal of happiness. He grew up in an atmosphere favorable to the development of his powers and was educated and trained for free and liberal pursuits. He became familiar with the masterpieces of literature, learned the art of music and witnessed the plays of the tragedians; when he walked in the streets and public places he was surrounded by the works of architects, sculptors and painters, and could converse with eminent teachers and philosophers.

In the field of religious activity, also, the average Greek citizen had much larger individual scope and influence. While his religion was largely a matter of ritual, he was still free to perform private acts of worship for himself. This made his religion a matter of greater concern to himself individually and to his family. In the most solemn public acts of religion when the greater gods were worshipped he could himself take part and feel at once the ties that bound him not only to the gods but also to all his fellow Greeks. These greater gods whom he worshipped were more human than the gods in the previous periods; and worship of them therefore had a more beneficent influence upon him and more power in moulding the life of the nation. A few great minds of Greece came to hold high conception of religion as a profoundly personal relation between God and the soul, righteousness instead of ritual being all-important.

It was this extraordinarily stimulating and responsive life that made Athens the center of the world's culture, and enabled her to hold that position long after her decline began. These conditions provided an opportunity such as had never before existed for

the working of germinal influences. Bagehot calls the time of Pericles the "Age of Discussion." "The effect of fundamental political discussion," he writes, "was the same in ancient as in modern times. The whole customary ways of thought were at once shaken by it, and shaken not only in the closets of philosophers, but in the common thought and daily business of ordinary men." The "liberation of humanity," as Goethe used to call it, the deliverance of men from the yoke of inherited usage and of rigid unquestionable law, was begun in Greece." There, as Hegel says, the individual became curious, inquisitive and reflective. He "was moved to wonder at the natural in nature." The problems and ideas with which he dealt were at the basis of all later civilizations. While Oriental society became stereotyped in monotonous repetition, Greek society was stimulating and progressive. The individual revered the past but was not enslaved by it. He remained capable of continuous growth and worked for social progress. The permanence of his institutions was the permanence of a growing life not of stagnation.

Yet Greece also like the Orient made nothing perfect. Greece made priceless contribu-

tions to human progress, but they had to be wrought into permanent political form elsewhere. Greece itself declined, and for various reasons. One was the rivalry of the leading and often hostile cities which kept the Greeks divided into a number of petty states. They never learned the lesson of coöperation. Hence they wrangled with one another in exhausting strife until at last they fell before the Macedonian power. In the second place, the extravagance of individualism, product in part of historical causes, in part of the sophistic philosophy, dissolved the old patriotism in universal selfishness—every man for himself. Another reason was that the spirit of free inquiry which advanced the Greek so far in science and philosophy and literature, turned at last upon the customs, traditions and ideas which were the foundation of the Greek religion, and subjected them to destructive criticism.

Rome began as a city-state, monarchical in form, but with a large measure of civic freedom; conquest strengthened the power of the king, but when the rule of the Tarquins became arbitrary the old free spirit asserted itself and established the Republic. The Romans possessed what the Greeks lacked,

the power of combination and a genius for administration. Expansion abroad and corruption at home brought about the fall of the Republic; but the Empire preserved not only the forms but in large measure the reality of the ancient liberties. The Roman Empire was not an absolute monarchy of the Oriental type, but in theory at least a legal state, in which the rights of the individual citizen were securely guarded.

The privileges of the law were not confined to those who were Roman born. They might be extended to foreigners and even to freedmen. The citizenship was successively enlarged, till it took in the great mass of the provincials. Race therefore was no longer the determining factor in securing the privileges of citizenship.

The benefit of this wide sway of good government was enjoyed by all classes. In the agricultural provinces the farmer and the vine-dresser lived in peace and plenty. Commerce developed as wars decreased; and the empire was made safe and accessible for travel from one end to the other. The average man therefore who engaged in the production of wealth or in its exchange in near or distant places, had a better chance both to work and

to prosper than under any earlier regime. Life and property were much safer than in any previous age. Religiously the Roman citizen was in much the same position as the Greek.

The Stoic philosophy which flourished in the first three centuries of the empire contributed much to the growth of individualism and of cosmopolitanism. The individual in the freedom wisdom gave was the supreme worth—whether by station he was emperor or slave—and a man was a man, of whatever race or speech.

The later empire took on more and more the character of an Oriental despotism; but even through its period of decline, it went on perfecting the system of law which is Rome's greatest legacy to civilization, next to the idea of a state in which the law is supreme and the rights of every individual are protected against the encroachments of his equals or his superiors.

But the greatest contribution to the progress of individualism through social evolution was made by a new influence which came into the world when the civilization of Greece and Rome was rapidly deteriorating. Christianity made reverence for man as man a

ruling sentiment of its adherents from the beginning. And it met with an eager response from a hardy race in the north which had never been thoroughly subjected to Rome and was yet to be Rome's conqueror.

This new influence sprang from two sources: the Teutonic love of freedom and the new conception of man introduced by Christianity. The latter was the fruitful seed of later developments. It did not, indeed, reach its ideal manifestation at once. Yet like leaven it lay within the social mass slowly transforming it into harmony with Christian thought. The conception that man irrespective of wealth and social condition is of infinite worth in the sight of God, gives him inalienable rights in the sight of men. This thought has lain at the heart of all social development in the West since the beginning of our era. But the other factor referred to—the Teutonic love of liberty—was also important; and even the Christian influence was for a long time largely exercised through the institution of the church rather than through a distinctly Christian way of thinking. We shall consider these two factors separately.

When the Roman Empire fell under the attacks of the Teutonic invaders, the first

effect was one of apparent political retrogression. The centralized authority of the Empire was broken down, so that for six or seven centuries, except for the brief period of Carlovingian rule, there was that political anarchy which is the most characteristic aspect of feudalism. The condition of the individual also was in many respects less happy than under the Empire. Free citizens had sunk to a more or less dependent status and their only guarantee against the will of their lord was an ill-defined law of custom which was a sorry substitute for the precise and well-administered Roman code. Yet the disorder that marked this period was the disorder of reconstruction. The old system had to be broken up so that a new and better system might arise out of its elements. But the prior civilization was likewise essential. The Empire, in bringing all parts of the European world into contact, in enacting impartial laws and in diffusing Greek culture, had done its work. The period that followed was one of differentiation into independent and more or less equal nationalities. The Christian teaching of the brotherhood of men was also at work and found expression both in institutions and in social life. It was realized to

some degree in the ecclesiastical system centering in Rome, in the monastic orders and in the Crusades. The Western Church true to the teaching of the Master developed a large democracy in its religious administration; while the State jealousy kept down every assertion of such individualism in politics. The fall of the Empire and the triumph of the Church made evident the fact that the universal bond of kinship, the community of the whole human race, could not be political nor even legal, but must be moral and spiritual.

In the closing centuries of the Empire, the Christian Church began to form an administrative system that soon developed under the leadership of the popes into a remarkable organization. For the medieval Church has been accurately called a state. As no one can escape from the authority of the state, so no one could forsake the Church without being arrested and condemned as a heretic. In other words, citizenship was compulsory. The Church like any state had its hierarchy of officials, its assemblies, its system of taxation and its courts. Moreover its range of authority was far greater than that of any contemporary Christian lay-state, since it included all western Europe.

In an organization of this extent and complexity, the status of the individual is of the highest significance. Happily his opportunity was of the fullest. It was in the Church that the ambitious youth of ready mind had offered to him, irrespective of race or social position, the very highest privileges and opportunities. He might pursue his studies in a monastery or become a parish priest or found a new religious house or go as a missionary to foreign lands. His vocation demanded intellectual culture and this made him a man of power in an age when there was little education among the laity. But he was more than a teacher and preacher. Many of the duties later performed by secular officials were within his province. The drawing up of wills and contracts and the conduct of trial by ordeal were in his hands. He was the copyist of manuscripts and the writer of books, the preserver of the classics and the guardian and promoter of civilization. Once ordained, the positions of canon, archdeacon, bishop and cardinal lay open before him. If made a bishop, the erstwhile peasant sat beside nobles in councils and courts. He fought beside them in the foremost ranks of the feudal army. He con-

trolled the life of the many villages which his cathedral church owned and his voice was most powerful in the administration of his diocese. Even the spiritual throne of the world was not beyond the reach of the humblest priest.

Here within a body recognizing the equality and significance of all members of society a man of the lower ranks for the first time in human history had the opportunity to rise to commanding rank. In precisely this way the Middle Ages marked an advance upon the limitations of antiquity. Greece had maintained a highly favored citizen class upon a servile substructure; Rome upon the same substructure had guaranteed to her extensive citizen class the protection of her law; medieval lay society put in juxtaposition the independent noble and the dependent villein or serf; only within the comprehensive church was opportunity full and equal to anyone who saw fit to become a priest. It was an innovation of the greatest consequence for the individual.

This was the work of the Church and it was of inestimable value. But it was still necessary to develop a similar liberality within lay society or the political world.

This development arose partly from economic causes and partly from a love of freedom inborn in certain races. The process was to be a long one and was not unaccompanied by violence. It was a struggle at once for industrial, commercial and political freedom. Beginnings appear in the later Middle Ages when we first see the rise of a new group, the third estate. Most striking was the prominence assumed by the bourgeois class in the thriving towns of the twelfth century. Soon the powerful communes of Italy, France, Germany, Spain and England began to take an active part in national affairs. In many places they were of prime importance in assisting royalty in its struggle with the feudal nobility. For the latter, in the interest of national life, had to be deprived of their long cherished independence. Only in a nation strongly welded together could the third estate achieve its own political freedom—the goal of the evolutionary process. In the Italian communes where there was no devotion to the national spirit, liberty in a high degree was assured for a time. But it soon gave way to the despotism of petty tyrants. Life within medieval towns was at the outset democratic, each citizen taking

an active part in the election of administrative and judicial officials, as well as in the ranks of the communal militia. Freedom was fuller in these towns than in the Greek city-state, since they contained no servile element. They were, as concerned all their members, perhaps the most democratic lay governments yet existent.

In close competition however in this respect are certain phases of English local life. In some of the oldest Anglo-Saxon laws we find traces of representative institutions. The community chose certain of its members to represent it in various activities; for example, in procuring or giving information on some important matter. Under Norman rule, these representatives of local groups acted as jurors and eventually elected members of Parliament. Such activity of the local units indicated, of course, vitality of the individual spirit throughout the land. Busied for the time being with the choice of a financial, a judicial, an administrative or an elective committee, the individual eventually came to see that he could make himself felt even against a Stuart monarchy. Hence the insistence of the elected country members in their dealings with Charles I. and the

support given them by more democratic elements of the country which had elected them.

But this step has brought us into the Modern Period. The Middle Age with its liberal opportunities in the ecclesiastical world and its launching of the third estate in the political world had only made a beginning. It was left for modern times to make this third estate the determining power in government and to establish a true political democracy. The struggle was in general directed against royalty. For royalty had made the most of its victory over feudal disorder and had established more or less benevolent despotisms. England and Holland were the first nations to revolt against despotic rule. The Dutch had inherited traditions of powerful town governments which, along with their religious convictions, nerved them in their struggles with Phillip II. of Spain and with Louis XIV. of France. In England representative institutions had never suffered atrophy, and consequently she had in them a telling weapon against Charles I. The outcome in both cases was the establishment of popular government, though in England a really democratic regime was not

possible until after the Reform Bill of 1832. In France the Revolution brought about similar results but by iconoclastic means. In Germany and Italy national unity was delayed until the nineteenth century; but when it came representative institutions came in its train. The United States, owing to the conditions of the settlement of the country, worked out practically and theoretically, at an early period, the problem of giving to the individual the opportunity for free self-expression in politics.

The Spirit of Democracy is the great characteristic of the Modern Period. For convenience, we may consider this spirit first within the single body politic, and secondly in its international manifestations.

Democracy has arisen as the result of the struggle of the people for their rights against the powers in control. The internal history of the modern state has been determined by the two forces of authority and freedom, the ruler and the citizen. Hegel well interpreted the trend of history when he wrote: "The Orient knew, and to the present day knows, that *one* is free; the Roman world knew that *some* are free; the Germanic world knows that *all* are Free." To maintain this

principle, the liberal forces of the Western world have fought a long, bitter and triumphant battle. In consequence the modern democratic state, without forfeiting the advantage of a strong and stable control, ensures to every individual his participation in the government.

The evolution of democracy is one of the great modern social facts. Whether in republican France, or in imperial Germany, or in England the "mother of parliaments," the popular will finds expression through a suffrage which is now practically universal. The will of the sovereign may be of direct political moment, as in Germany; or it may be exerted principally as a social force, as in England; but in both these countries the will of the people, expressed through the election of members of parliament, is one of the chief powers of government, even if it be not, as it is in England, the power of last resort. Parliamentary control has thus become an essential element in constitutional monarchy; and instead of distinguishing between absolute and limited monarchies, we might better indicate the political distinctions that mark the modern European state, by contrasting absolute with limited democ-

racies. The democratic form of government is well-nigh universal wherever the European type of civilization flourishes. Numerous countries outside of Europe, colonial in their origin, like the United States or the republics of South America, or the nominal dependencies of the British Empire, illustrate this fact. Every state grows more and more democratic as the intelligence and political capacity of the citizens develop. Rulers everywhere are becoming the servants or agents of the people in procuring the common good.

The highest point yet reached in the evolution of democracy is found in the United States. For more than a century the great experiment has here been tried. It has been conducted under serious difficulties. At the outset the rights of the black population were not defined or guarded, and this omission brought on the greatest crisis in American history. Further, the scale of the experiment soon had to be vastly enlarged, because of an influx of aliens who had little or no conception of democratic ideals. Hence it is not strange that the system has not worked perfectly. Still the conviction is deepening that our evils grow out of too little dem-

ocracy rather than too much, and that our trials do not result from inherent defects in the principle, but from its incomplete application in our practice. It is in the United States therefore that the advantages of democracy for the average man can best be studied.

The average man never had so high a place and so many opportunities in Greece or Rome as he enjoys in a modern democracy. He has, in the first place, liberal political privileges. He can take part in the election of officers, and help to settle the policy of the nation. He can join with others to form a party. He can stand for office, and if elected will have a personal share in framing the laws. The modern state then affords the individual the most perfect political environment that has yet been evolved. It ensures him liberty yet places him within an order that both steadies him and brings his powers to their fullest expression.

Industrial privileges have kept pace with political emancipation. The workman under democratic conditions has greater respect paid to his person, to his character and to his rights. He has more chance to use his strength or skill, for hundreds of new callings

are open to him. He has grown more intelligent and can therefore do better work. This encourages his inventive genius. He can move freely from one place of employment to another. He may combine with others and by such organization can secure better conditions of labor, shorter hours and higher wages.

Again the physical condition of the average man is much improved. Invention and applied science are fast taking the drudgery of the race off the shoulders of the working man and turning it over to machines. Men are better housed, eat better food and enjoy more comforts. The progress of medical and sanitary science has greatly increased the length of life. Many diseases once widely fatal have disappeared or at least are held in check as to their extent and virulence. Progress in this direction is one of the salient features of our time.

The average man has unprecedented opportunities for mental growth. Democracy needs intelligent citizens, and therefore provides them with schooling. The newspapers keep him in touch with the life of his day and generation and with the movements of the world. Free libraries give him access

to every kind of literature. Thus he can share the rich heritage of the world's best thought and become a citizen of the Republic of Letters. He can pursue truth wherever it may lead. He can form and define his own opinions in morals and religion, and discuss the same with his fellows without repression.

Finally, the average man has social privileges undreamed of in the past. The barriers which once confined him are falling everywhere. The status of his parents no longer determines his whole career. He may rise from the lowest rank in society to the very highest. He may move from place to place and make new friendships. He may form organizations for his enjoyment or for social service. His influence in the world depends primarily not upon his birth, but upon his character; it is not due to his social position but to his personal power.

While the average individual enjoys these advantages, there are anti-democratic forces at work which tend to reduce him to insignificance. Our confidence however in the power of the people assures us that these forces will be overthrown or checked. The way the people are already rising in their might the world over and putting a stop to or curb-

ing the evils of swollen wealth on the one hand and the excesses of labor organizations on the other, makes us confident that the interests of the common man will secure perfect safeguards in due time. The revolt of men in all parties against the political boss and the downfall of bosses once in regal power, makes us confident that the common citizen will have greater power, rather than less, with the passing years.

More and more conscious of the needs of moral and civic training of the youth of our land, we shall find in this new education our great ally in the struggle for the protection of the rights of the average man. The new generation is being taught something of the social system and the working of democratic institutions and the necessity for upright citizens, and it may be confidently expected that the new demands of a growing democracy will be met by a new and better type of citizen.

So far we have considered the workings of democracy within the state itself. But the final goal of democratic ideals is not the perfecting of separate nations. It is nothing short of a complete "federation of the world." In this "world-merger" towards

which we seem to be tending, national life will not be lost but will gain in scope and influence, as the life of the individual has gained through the progress of democracy within the state. There are many signs of the approach of such an era of internationalism. The world is rapidly becoming a "body economic." The narrow mercantile system of the eighteenth century has given place to the policy of the "open door." Financial centers like London, Paris, Berlin and New York are connected by ties of the strongest and most sensitive nature. The cotton market of Liverpool responds instantly to any disturbance in the cotton market of Egypt. An attempt to corner wheat in the Chicago pit makes itself felt in every city of Europe.

In other than economic matters the nations are coming together in a world-community. The Republic of Letters is more nearly a universal republic than in any former age. International societies are continually organized in the interests of culture and science. Modern facilities of travel and communication enable the individual to hold easy converse with his intellectual colleagues on the other side of the globe. Benevolence too is no longer limited by national boun-

daries. The oppressed Armenians met with sympathy and help from every quarter. Sufferers in the recent famines in India and Japan were relieved by international contributions; and the recent Italian earthquake furnishes a still later illustration.

Extension of democratic principles likewise encourages the hope that wars will gradually cease. A great majority of any nation are civilians and upon them the burdens of armies and navies fall. They are realizing more and more how great is the waste of wealth from this source even in times of peace. War as an evil in itself is now subject to constant and searching criticism from the people at large. The history of the Dreyfus affair shows how even the most stubborn and strongly entrenched military class, despite its efforts to mislead and control the people, is powerless in the end to triumph over the sentiments of a nation once aroused in the cause of justice. The former enthusiasm for the military class has died out. The soldier no longer holds the place and prominence he once did. And this changed feeling toward warfare and the growing spirit of internationalism tend to the gradual ces-

sation of war, and to create the hope of its ultimate abolition.

Democracies, despite their occasional national excesses, have proved to be on the whole less warlike than states under autocratic rule. The personal whims of a sovereign are no longer sufficient to bring wars to pass. The whole people must first be aroused to some sense of common need and of national wrong before wars can be voluntarily initiated to-day.

Workingmen the world over feel they are of one brotherhood and that it would be wrong for them to fight with one another. Merchants have such important interests at stake in foreign countries that they now must stand against war. Men of culture everywhere are bound together by the great concerns of science and learning, and their sentiments too are against an appeal to arms. Reasonable men of all classes are realizing more and more that international disputes ought to be decided by international courts. The Hague tribunal is already a fact. Many differences are settled by arbitration now; before long we may hope that all differences will be settled in this way.

This rapid survey of the evolution of society from primitive conditions to the dawn of the International Period strongly confirms our original thesis, that the scope and the possibilities of the individual are increasing. Social progress is seen to provide for individual progress; so that there is a constant growth in the number and variety of individual opportunities for effective action. The ordinary man of today can live a larger life and exert a more powerful influence than ever before. All the great rights and privileges of humanity are secured to him. He enjoys political suffrage, social and religious liberty and economic freedom in an increasing degree. He is born into an environment which represents the net gains of the race in the past and these are at his service. The political order, having been made pliable and elastic, can readily be adjusted to new needs as they arise; and thus the individual is able to retain all that is good in the past and to acquire whatever new advantages social development may make possible. The saying of Horace never meant so much as now: the plain, well-meaning, ordinary citizen may well "congratulate himself on being born today."

CHAPTER XII.

READING LIFE BACKWARD AND FORWARD.

In the preceding chapters we have considered the individual as operating in and through the social system. Of course however the period of any individual's activity in the social system is but brief in comparison with the age of the system itself. As knowledge of the character of the system develops, it becomes of necessity more and more possible for a reasoning being to trace its forces backward into the past, in order to interpret their present significance, and to look forward into the future, in order to discover their tendencies and probable results. Can an individual of gifted mind gain by study the increased power to read life backward and forward, and how will such knowledge be of value to him and to society?

This chapter then is an attempt to discover the principles that will help man to gain a knowledge of past and future. From

our discussion of the various aspects of the social system and the influence that the individual gains therein by the various methods, certain principles emerge by means of which the individual can bring to light operations other than those that have been recorded, so that the past history of the earth and of life and action on the earth may be reconstructed. Trusting these same principles or methods of study, one may also look forward and see where present forces are probably tending.

Obviously the more the individual can glean from the past and the more he can discern of the future, the wiser his conduct will be and the more effective will be the force which he can exert in society. The historian looks backward and teaches the present generation the wisdom that is to be learned from past experience. The statesman looks forward and sees where the present forces are tending and he points out to the present generation the future that lies before it and the preparations that are necessary to meet that future.

There are certain general conditions however which are necessary to provide a sure basis for retrospect. These are first the

permanence of the system or of its results; second the continuity of the laws that govern the system and the continuity of its processes; and third the possibility of distinguishing the factors and laws of the system so that their co-working can be traced.

First then as to permanence of the system or of results. In many cases the entire system has maintained itself. In many other cases, even if there has been some change of details, the form or the law of the system has remained unaltered and this enables us to make inferences as to the past. If the entire system has not been permanent, still much retrospective knowledge of it is possible if a part of it has remained fixed. The geologist can reconstruct the past more surely when he comes upon mountains with evidences of successive sea or lake margins still visible, than when all has been a fluctuating mass of moor or delta, with no single feature constant. So in politics, it is far easier to retrace a long course of national development that has proceeded along comparatively distinct and orderly lines, than one which has been in a constant state of flux and overturn. It is infinitely easier to retrace the life of the more settled European

states, than that of the shifting nomadic tribes of Central Asia and Northern Africa, or the clashing, conspiring factions of the South American Republics.

And yet much of a system which has passed away can be retraced if its effects have endured. Just as natural forces do not work in a vacuum but produce tangible results, so social forces leave their impress on the characters of men and institutions and determine the course of events. Racial experience is registered in racial consciousness, capacity, customs or institutions. These are very persistent facts and furnish available data for the reconstruction of earlier beliefs and institutions. From the laying of papers under the corner stone of a building the archeologist is carried back, as Herbert Spencer has pointed out, to the oldest social facts known, even toward the very beginning of society.

In the same way the study of institutions often throws great light on the social and political circumstances of their origin. Such institutions are concrete documents, which cannot be forged or destroyed. De Coulanges in his work "*The Ancient City*," tried to show that the ancient classical society was de-

terminated by conceptions springing out of ancestral religion. Again if the environment has been definitely modified by the system, such modifications may disclose the character of the system itself. A line of trees in an arid plain reveals the course of a river. The path of Turkish conquest is marked by its blighting effects upon the lands which were once gardens and seats of civilization. One sign of the advance of Greek culture was the public baths with their appurtenances for comfort and luxury. Each age has had its characteristic forms of art and industry, and from these we can recover the old life and date it with approximate correctness.

The second condition of retrospection is the continuity of the system and of its laws and processes. The general recognition of the importance of this principle of continuity is due mainly to modern science and has become the presupposition of all scientific investigation. The present has grown out of the past according to laws inherent with the system, and according to those laws we read the system backward. La Place traced the solar system to an earlier nebulous condition; Lyell brought unity into geology,

and Darwin brought unity into biology, by the application of the same principle. This principle holds equally in historical and social science. Here too the present grows out of the past and reveals the past from which it grew. Without such continuity all lines of investigation must end in failure.

The final condition of retrospection is the possibility of distinguishing the individual factors and processes of the system. The more clearly and distinctly the factors stand out, the easier it is to read their history or to trace their present working. The same fact appears in details. We can easily trace an error made by a clerk in a well-organized department store, or by a soldier in an army, for in both cases the individuals hold a unique relation to the whole system. It is much harder, if not impossible, to trace the acts of an individual in an unorganized group, where there is no systematic order that fixes the position and function of the individual units.

There are two special aids to retrospection: first, disclosures which the system itself makes; and second, the tests which man applies.

First, the system itself may make more or less accidental revelations of its history

or internal conditions. A landslide may lay bare the rocky side of a mountain, and reveal to the geologist lines of upheaval and veins of metal, of which no sign had previously been visible. The sudden appearance of mineral springs, and of gas and oil wells makes disclosures of unsuspected internal conditions. The collapse of a building betrays faulty methods employed in its construction. The sudden fall of a trusted citizen often reveals a career of vicious indulgence which has undermined his character. In nations the same principle holds. The partition of Poland disclosed a state of internal disorganization which had lasted for over a century. The French Revolution threw a lurid light on the period of decay through which the social and political institutions of the country had passed. The Civil War in America brought to view a whole history of economic degeneration.

External tests may often be applied to a system with the definite purpose of discovering its significant factors and retracing its history. By a single observation the ophthalmoscope may detect in the eye and the stethoscope in the lungs a long history of disease. The thermometer records the fever

of the whole body by taking the temperature at its surface. Building materials are tested for strength; machinery for precision and durability; vessels for general efficiency. Fitness for college or for the civil service is determined by examinations, which are in effect tests applied from without to reveal the system of preparation.

From the general conditions of retrospect then we now turn to the six methods of systematic action which as we shall find facilitate in different degrees the process of interpreting the past.

To retrace a diffusive system is to move towards the original source of a wide-spread influence. A wave of influence has swept over a vast community like the total-abstinence reform in the early part of the nineteenth century. From the habits of our own times, we can trace this moral improvement back to its origin.

Succession is more helpful than diffusion as a means of retracing the past. This is the method pursued by the geologist in studying the history of the earth; by the archaeologist in reconstructing ancient culture through relics; by the philologist in investigating the forms and relationships of lan-

guages; and by the historian in determining the successive phases of civilization. In the history of society the lines of succession are long and varied. Each generation finds itself the possessor of a vast heritage, the different parts of which may be traced back to the times, the places and the social agencies in which they have originated.

In retracing a divergent system we follow several lines, all leading back to the same point. Thus our investigations illuminate and confirm one another and we are enabled to arrive at more trustworthy results than in systems of the diffusive or the successive type. Had the history of Rome perished utterly, the broken remnants of those great paved roads which radiated from the capitol would show its importance as a divergent centre. And the same is true of Rome's place in civilization. By tracing many languages to Latin; the systems of modern law and government to Roman institutions; and architecture to the Romanesque, we could infer that Rome was a central source of world-wide culture and enlightenment. Its sway extended to Spain, to Mauretania, to Egypt, to Syria, to Asia Minor, to the Danube, to the Rhine, to Gaul, to the Belgic Swamps and to Britain.

As we retrace the history of these countries by means of records, monuments, institutions, languages and literature, we are led back in every instance to the central power of Rome.

Convergence is the method commonly used in tracing events to numerous and widely scattered forces. Thus students of history refer the American Revolution to the attempt to suppress that freedom of trade on which the very life of the colonies depended; to the conquest of New France which removed the danger of foreign interference in a quarrel with the mother country; to the political issues arising from the fact that the English government was too far away to understand the interests of the Americans; to the prevalent contempt of their feelings and the notion that America was not worth keeping unless exploited; and to many other contributory causes. Every epoch in history is the convergent point of numerous forces, which result in close relations between nations that have hitherto been far apart, in fresh commercial or industrial vigor or in novel generalizations in the world of ideas. The culmination of past tendencies marks the beginning of new movements.

In systems of the germinal type, the parts unfold with such regularity that the natural organism can be traced to its beginning with considerable accuracy. Thus the different stages of a tree under regular conditions can be traced to its germ-bud with absolute certainty. The stages in the growth of the body cannot be so accurately traced, because the conditions of its development are less uniform. The stages in the growth of the soul can be retraced with still less accuracy, since its development has been influenced by forces far more complex and varied. Yet the childhood of a man may be to some extent inferred or reconstructed from his later life. From what he has come to be, from the success he has achieved and from the character which has developed out of his natural disposition, we can understand the meaning of his early career, can note the emergence of new powers and can interpret the prophecies which his maturity has fulfilled. So the student of an idea, an institution, a nation or a period of civilization, finds at every turn as he moves backward traces of development which help him to comprehend its orderly growth from the germ in which it originated.

Finally we come to correlative systems.

These because of their nicety of adjustment and the degree in which the power of the whole is realized in every part, afford the best opportunity for retrospect. There is little if any research which does not involve the correlative method. Therapeutics for example depends upon the correlation between the symptoms of a disease and the cause. The physician is aware that the proper action of one part of the body may be hindered by abnormal conditions in another part, and he has an accurate knowledge of the several correlations involved. Hence he is able to refer the dragging foot of a patient to its true cause in a lesion of the brain.

The conditions of social life, though vastly more complex, may often be read by a similar process of retracing a correlative system. The life of ancient Babylonia has been reconstructed in a measure by means of large quantities of clay tablets still preserved on which were written contracts of various kinds. These throw much light on the social conditions of the time. A hint is given us as to slavery; the presence of only three or four slaves in a family argues for their use as menials but not for commercial purposes. The code of Hammurabi discovered a few

years ago has in the same way thrown great light on the social conditions in Babylon.

Ancient relics in a museum, medals, coins, and parchments, are so many chapters in the revelation of a complex past. A single painting may reveal the tastes and so the intellectual and moral character of the period. Four or five years ago, peasants digging in Egypt in the island of Elephantine discovered a jar with rolls of papyrus in it. The rolls were found to be legal instruments of Jews who were a part of a Persian military colony at Elephantine from 470 to 410 B. C. These documents supplied proof that the Jews had a temple at Elephantine; also that there were Jews on the upper Nile in that period of Persian rule and that they formed part of a military colony with their own lands and houses. The revelations of these few deeds set others to digging with useful results. A petition was found from the Jews to the Persian governor and to the high priest in Jerusalem for permission to rebuild their temple which had been destroyed by the Egyptian mob. By mention of the names of the officers to whom the petition was sent and also of the sons of Sanballat it has been

possible to fix the date of the Old Testament book of Nehemiah.

For a long time scholars had been at a loss to decipher the hieroglyphics on Egyptian monuments. No key could be found until the famous Rosetta stone was deciphered by Champillon the French scholar. It contained inscriptions in three forms. One of them was Greek. Assuming that the others were records of the same event, Champillon found the hieroglyphics told the same story and was thus able to reconstruct the sacred language of Egypt. He then proved by the same method that the third inscription was in the Demotic characters, the language of the common people in ancient Egypt. Thus the key discovered by the correlative method opened the door to the lost literature of Egypt. Cuneiform writings of Babylonia have been discovered in the same way from the single Behistun inscription. The finding of a like key would make intelligible the still unread language of Etruria.

In the political world again it often happens that one aspect of a movement, if clearly observed, serves as an index to the phases which other aspects of the movement have undergone. Thus the history of repre-

sentative government in England throws light on the relative importance of the rural and manufacturing communities. In the same way the history of legislative or constitutional changes reveals correlative changes in the political, economic or social situation. The records of Parliament give much information concerning the manners and customs of the English nation. The repeal or enactment of laws indicates a corresponding variation in the thought or the condition of the people.

In England to-day there is practically universal male suffrage for the election of members of Parliament. At the beginning of the nineteenth century such was very far from being the case, and a glance backward at the extension of the franchise shows the remarkable growth of the popular power which underlay it. No earlier than 1884 did the demand of the country population to be treated like the townsmen get a response, but that response doubled the country electorate. In 1867 the working population in the towns had made their appeal with the result that the entire number of existing voters was thus increased twofold. If one goes back further to the condition of 1832 not

only were the working classes in both town and country denied direct representation in Parliament, but such prosperous cities as Manchester and Birmingham were altogether without members. One fifth of the House of Commons was returned from the co-called "rotten-boroughs" most of which had a population of less than three thousand; some of them were only green mounds or ruined walls. The abolition of these boroughs and the extension of the franchise in the new manufacturing cities by the Reform Bill of 1832 immediately increased the number of voters by more than half. Thus if the one hundred and eighty thousand voters of 1831 be set beside the three millions of 1885 the twenty fold increase is seen to result largely from the rights successively acquired by the middle classes in the towns, the working classes in the towns and the working classes in the country.

In correlative systems where the individuals are clearly distinguishable or where, a high degree of organization prevails so that each individual has its own special place and function, retrospection is raised to its highest degree of precision. Where mathematics can be applied, retrospection is practically infalli-

ble. One illustration is seen in astronomy. Here the reckoning may be indirect and elaborate and yet exact, because the quantities dealt with can be numerically measured and thus acquire all the exactness of numerical science. Very striking cases are furnished in the calculation of eclipses occurring in the remote past, and in the fixing of historical dates by astronomical considerations. There are also many social transactions which depend on computation. In the balance sheet of a nation's treasury, the slightest discrepancy may be traced back through thousands of pages, from book to book, from department to department, and may finally be located with unerring precision. Such instances show the highest form of accuracy in retracing. And in all social organizations where the individual has a unique relation to the whole system, the same possibility of retracing is found. As we have before pointed out, we can easily retrace an error made by a clerk in a well-organized department store or by a soldier in an army, because of the unique relation of the individual to the organization.

Having followed the several methods of reading life backwards, we are now ready to apply the same methods to the more difficult

work of reading life forwards. Man certainly has the power to do this work to some extent. He lives not only by his wisdom from the past, but by his hope and vision of the future. His power of forecast is one of the great dynamic forces of civilization.

Such power of forecast is used in daily life. The facts of tomorrow are taken into account to-day. The farmer and the business man live their lives in this way; and no less also the parents who have the responsibility of training their children. On a larger scale and in connection with vaster interests, the statesman lives largely with his face to the future. He thinks of the tendencies and results of social and political forces; he has great plans for national welfare and formulates policies which will realize his far-sighted plans and visions. In this way he increases his social influence enormously.

The conditions for reading life forward are practically the same as those for reading life backward. But where the future is in question it is necessary to rely wholly on correct inferences. In dealing with the past it is often possible to retrace and restore the entire system. But the future can be comprehended only in so far as the part fore-

shadows its completion. In the present working of forces we discover the main outlines of the plan which is in process of realization, and this discovery enables us to foresee its fulfillment in the future. In predicting events which depend on the will of human beings mathematical precision is of course impossible. We are not left however to mere guesswork. The actions of man in the future will be largely determined by causes and conditions which can even now be observed and estimated. Just as it was found that there are six types of social operations, increasing in efficiency from the first to the last, so it will be found that predictions based on these types increase in accuracy as we proceed from diffusion to correlation.

The nature of the sphere also determines the accuracy of prediction. The higher we rise in the scale the greater is the certainty. A panic in the economic sphere is more probable than a revolution in a political sphere. A political revolution is more likely than the passing away of a great name once fully established in the literary world. It is safer to predict the continued influence of Dante or Shakespeare than the perpetual business career of the Bank of England. Horace

foretold that his poems would live as long as Roman institutions. They have in fact lived three times as long already, and there seems to be no likelihood of their being forgotten. And since religion long outlasts nations it is far less safe to predict a succession of kings in England, or of Emperors in Germany, than of priests or ministers in all Christian nations. Forms of government may change, but the Church will endure forever.

In social operations forecast of the result of forces that act by the method of diffusion is extremely uncertain, because of the number and the shifting character of the influences which affect the public mind. Before one influence has attained full sway it is frequently driven out by another. An author, an actor, or a musician who is rapidly becoming a popular favorite may all at once find himself neglected because of a rival or because for no apparent reason fashion has suddenly changed.

Still there are certain classes of social operations working by the method of diffusion which can be safely predicted. The spread of news or of ideas, is made the basis of very definite calculations. The enormous investment in advertising is a notable case in point.

In politics also the effect of any action upon public opinion must be considered in advance. So in the financial world both panics and waves of popular confidence are anticipated by the shrewd investor or speculator. Such a forecast founded the fortune of the Rothschild family. The victory at Waterloo by restoring the confidence of Englishmen in the payment of the national debt was certain to have an immediate effect on the price of consols. Mayer Rothschild arranged for a special express to bring him the news of the battle, hours before it could be generally known. On the strength of this message he bought consols heavily and their rise in value when the victory was proclaimed brought him immense wealth.

Prediction as to social operations that follow the successive method are much more certain than in the case of diffusion, because of the periodic occurrence of events. Economic success indeed comes largely from ability to foresee the movements of population, commerce and industry. The immense Astor fortune is due to the foresight of John Jacob Astor: perceiving that New York would have to grow along Manhattan Island because of congestion in the lower part of the city he

bought great tracts of land at farm prices and held them for a rise in value. The ablest builders of the great West predicted from an early period the course of those influences which by succession would gradually fill the vacant territory, create new States, and extend our national power and life.

In divergent systems the element of control makes forecast easy. An individual at a divergent center who controls a compact and thoroughly independent organization can predict with accuracy the times and places at which his action will take effect. Von Moltke knew so well what would be the consequence of orders for mobilization in all parts of Prussia that when news of the declaration of war by France in 1870 was brought to him in bed, he simply told an officer to take a certain paper from a certain pigeon-hole and to follow its instructions.

This ability to anticipate divergent operations is the characteristic mark of statesmanship. Bismark saw that the joint occupancy of the Danish Duchies by Prussia and Austria might lead to the long desired quarrel which should enable Prussia to oust Austria from the leadership of Germany. He had the power to make that joint occupancy intoler-

able and to force Austria to withdraw or to fight. And as he had borne a part in raising the Prussian army to a state of the highest efficiency he could also be confident of the result.

In convergent systems the possibility of forecast is still greater and the prediction is more readily confirmed. In such systems there is a point at which all the forces meet; the forces are more nearly unique; and there is less opportunity for their dissipation or mixture. And when forces converge toward one result they will produce an ever-increasing characteristic effect. The massing of capital will lead to the development of industries. The concourse of people will favor the enrichment of ideas. The union of ethical forces will lead to cumulative moral improvement.

The social results of convergence may be predicted in proportion as the centre is adapted to a particular kind of social activity; for instance when it is a church, a university or a seat of government. A good historical example is the foundation of Alexandria. Alexander planted the city where the line of traffic with the East along the Nile met the convergent lines of Mediterranean traffic so

that it became a commanding centre of trade-routes. And it has never lost its predominance as the emporium of Egypt although the old routes are abandoned.

When a convergent system is subject to strict control its operations may be predicted with great exactness. A remarkable example of such a convergent forecast is what is told of Jomini the great strategic analyst. Napoleon had invited him to take part in the Jena campaign as a staff-officer. Finding that it would take several days to get his equipage ready, Jomini remarked: "Never mind, I can rejoin your Majesty at Bamberg." Napoleon astonished and irritated (for he had confided his plan of concentration to no one,) replied sharply, "Why at Bamberg? Who told you I was going to Bamberg?" "The map of Germany," answered Jomini. "But there are a hundred roads on that map." "Very true; but your Majesty doubtless intends the same blow at the Prussian left, that was given to Mack's right at Donauworth, and to Melas's right at the St. Bernard, which would be Bamberg upon Jena." "Well," said Napoleon, "go to Bamberg, but let no one else know that I am going there."

In germinal systems prediction is based upon known facts of development. Each stage in the growth of the embryo enables us the better to forecast the mature organism. In like manner each step in a child's career aids us in understanding the mature person. "The child is father of the man." Education is based upon a similar prediction as to the growth of the mind. The various stages of development are so anticipated and prepared for, that one can be practically certain of the result.

Heredity enlarges the range of prediction in systems of the germinal type. We can be certain that a duckling will take to the water; that a colt descended from a racing stock will be able to go faster than a Percheron colt. Chinese children will keep to the Mongolian type; and young Hottentots or Papuans will never grow up to be Caucasians. In physical traits the main outlines of heredity are pretty firmly fixed; but in intellect and character there are considerable variations. This is especially apparent when we pass from individuals to generations. Successive generations are alike and also different; and in progressive societies this difference leads to continual variation.

Law, language, literature, ideas and religion are germinal forces whose tendency to remain essentially true to their type through great changes and under special conditions may always be counted on. Thus it can be foretold that the typical New Englander will be a serious and thoughtful person, devoted to order and liberty, as his Puritan forefathers were. It can be confidently predicted that, despite the enormous accretion of foreign elements from every quarter of the globe, the development of American institutions will remain almost purely English in type. When any type of institution has become dominant in a nation, it survives the greatest external changes.

The correlative type affords the possibility of more complete prediction than any of the preceding methods. When the correlation is close, there is a fineness of adjustment which predetermines the whole course of changes that must follow the first change, and this enables us to read the future development of the system with much precision.

Civilization itself is the most significant instance of a correlative system. Its various factors are so interdependent that we can

readily pass from one to another in the process of reading life forward. For example there is an intimate connection between the growth of the natural sciences and that of the useful arts. Hence we can safely predict the long continued progress of our present type of culture. The more we learn about nature, the more successful we shall be in the arts. This success will in turn constantly create new problems for the sciences to solve, and so will stimulate scientific study.

The correlations which result from reactions may often be made the subject of accurate forecast. Periods of commercial prosperity and depression, of increasing and waning interest in literature, art and religion, will long continue to alternate in a more or less rhythmic swing. The definite calculation of such social reactions has often had momentous consequences, as in the case of Maurice of Saxony and the Protestants. Maurice's interests and probably his feelings lay with the other Protestant states which formed the league of Smalkald. But convinced that their factious disunion must end in failure, he joined with Charles V. to crush them at Mühlberg. Equally certain that Charles's repression of the Protestants must

in turn produce a successful reaction, he formed secret alliances which enabled him, when the time came, to drive Charles to the mountains, to rouse all North Germany in revolt and finally to bring about the Treaty of Passau, which gave the Protestants peace and equality for sixty-six years.

When the correlation is of opposing forces the outcome may also be predicted in many cases. Twenty years before the outbreak of the Civil War, John Quincy Adams foresaw its occurrence and its results. He saw that abhorrence of slavery, political opposition to the aggressive policy of the South and indignation at their attacks on freedom of speech would inevitably bring about a conflict and that when it came the free States would strike the chief weapon of the slave-holders from their hands.

Obviously the power to forecast the future increases the effectiveness of the individual and enhances his value to society. There have been men who could so completely discern the causes at work in knowledge, in morals and in religion, as to see the signs of the times and to stand forth as the prophets of their generation. Such a thinker was Bacon. He saw that philosophers for many

generations had pursued the different branches of inquiry merely on the line of theory and speculation. He saw also the paths that led to practical subjects and he gave directions for entering them. By his *Novum Organum* he trained the minds that have since moved the race. Thus he stood like Moses on a mountain top and gazed far onward with an unrivalled comprehension that more than justified the proud humility of his own words: "For my name and memory, I leave that work to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations and to the next age."

At this point in our investigation we are confronted by a momentous problem. In mortal life, as we have seen, there are certain principles or methods which enable us to look ahead, forecasting what is to come by our observation of the past and the present. Are these principles or methods applicable in any manner to the unseen world? Can we extend them to a consideration of the life beyond the grave?

In attempting to answer such questions we are, it is true, no longer on strictly sociological grounds. Of course we shall be applying sociological principles, but shall

have to support them by certain broader philosophical conditions.

The forecasting of a future life involves the use of the same principle which is employed in forecasting, within the limits of the natural world. We have already found that it is possible by inference to escape the limits of the present. The very fragmentariness and incompleteness of the processes which fall within our immediate observation are prophetic of their continuance. We have now to ask whether it is possible to pass, by a similar inference, from the characteristic incompleteness which attends all human and terrestrial affairs to a fuller life in which they are contained and complete.

Any interpretation of the world must assume that it is a rational scheme, moving on to the accomplishment of a definite purpose. Now if death ends all, the world is a failure and hence is hopelessly irrational. The power that has produced men with their great opportunities and social affinities can find no justification if they are to perish utterly. As John Fiske has pointed out, man considered in the light of his origin must be immortal. For what avails this steady process of evolution if its only result is death?

We are brought to a hideous anti-climax unless the individual is to endure.

The incompleteness of a system foreshadows its completion. If we come upon a mass of timber and find that the posts have tenons which exactly fit into the mortices of the sills, we can predict a house and draw a rough outline of its plans even if we leave room for great variety in the finish and decorations. If the man of science discovers a system in nature which appears to be interrupted, in which everything at the present stage is confused and contradictory, he does not lose faith in the continuity of truth. He has seen enough of the system to be sure of its completion. The forces of moral character, though their tendencies are easily discoverable, do not hold full sway in the world as we know it. Other forces check and obstruct their operation so that it often seems disordered and uncertain. Wrong frequently prospers and the right course leads to seeming disaster. Yet we cannot think that the principles of morality are casual or ephemeral. We infer rather that the moral system extends beyond the limits of time and space. We look forward with the eye of reason to an immortal

existence in which harmony shall result from all that now appears conflicting.

There is also a strange instinct in the souls of men who have lived deeply and truly which makes them revolt at the thought of death as the annihilation of their total life. Man has an instinctive feeling that he shall live forever in realms favorable to his immortal nature. As the instinct of the migratory bird foreshadows another clime, so does the outreaching of the soul foreshadow a world as yet unseen where fuller powers shall be attained in a more favorable environment.

Moreover there are certain faculties in man which seem to transcend mortality. One of these is reason. Human life in its early stages is largely a matter of impulse or instinct or appetite. When reason first asserts itself it is essentially a new force. With its emergence is born that passion for truth in which both science and philosophy have their perennial spring. Reason aims to comprehend the universe as a rational whole and to view it in its eternal meaning. But there are obstacles in the way. It encounters restrictions from its connection with its instrument, the body; it finds limitations in the condition of the objects to be investigated.

Yet it is endowed with the capacity for further inquiry; it feels longing aspirations to continue the quest. No such faculty as this can find full satisfaction in three score years and ten. By its very nature reason takes hold on eternity.

Nor is reason all; there are other forces which man will do well to consider. There are ties of kindred which are among the earliest impulses of rational life. There are bonds of friendship which are not formed until later years. These are felt when persons entertaining the same views of important social questions are brought together. They grow out of similar tastes in music and art; or out of similar principles respecting reform, benevolence and religion; or out of those more subtle affinities which lead to mutual regard and helpfulness. They are strengthened by toil and hardship endured in common for the good of humanity. When one member of a circle of friends bound together by such ties as these is called away, there is an instinctive feeling that the broken associations will be renewed; and this sentiment, foreshadowing a world beyond where friendship shall be continued weighs more in many

minds than all the intimations of immortality which come from mature reason.

Conscience like reason is a naturally developed faculty. The youngest child feels its promptings in simple questions of truthfulness and obedience, and it retains its power through all the stages of the soul's growth. It guides us in solitude. It steadies the heart in gloom. It is undeviating amid the passions that agitate our nature. It asserts jurisdiction over interests which transcend earthly empires in the realms higher than imagination can reach. And as reason when it comes upon seeming chaos holds fast to its confidence in the essential rationality of things, so conscience amidst the complex and ill-regulated relations of society does not lose faith in the essential righteousness of the moral system. Thus conscience like reason divines the future and bears witness to immortality, not from any selfish interest in the continuance of personal life but by instinctive revolt against the imperfections of the temporal order.

And finally religion which involves the highest powers and faculties of humanity allies us closely with that which is unseen and eternal. Man is naturally religious and

the religious interest like all other instincts must have its objective correlate. Men have always been haunted by an Invisible Presence, which reveals itself in the truths of reason, in the solemn warnings of conscience and in the love of friends and kindred. The voice of the sea, the roar of the storm, the silence of the mountains, the splendor of sunsets and the serenity of the watching stars—all speak to us of the Hidden Power which alone is great. Religion is the guarantee of all other interests of the soul. The intellect finds its only sure support in the thought of a Supreme Reason. Conscience is upheld in its dreams of a final triumph of righteousness by the doctrine of a holy and almighty will. And the heart can rest in the midst of loss and bereavement so long as faith looks to a Father in heaven and whispers, "We shall meet again."

The argument for immortality derived from the nature of these specific faculties of the soul is strengthened by the fact that they are in vigorous exercise only late in life. Man does not begin his career with these high powers in full use. It is only after he has lived for some time and acquired considerable experience that the reason begins

to gain strength and the heart to make lasting friendships and conscience to become steady and strong and religion to assert itself as the great personal reality of life. While they are thus the last powers developed they are the first in importance and moral worth. It would seem then that the nature of the system which has made provision for the appearance of these high faculties late in life intends that the mind shall have an immortal career for their continued and increasing development.

Not only are man's spiritual faculties developed late in life, but they manifest throughout life as a whole a steady progressiveness which we must suppose to be continued in the world beyond. Man's claims to immortality are based on his possession of these faculties. It is incredible that death abruptly terminates their exercise and cuts off their full development. Man must infer another sphere in which that exercise may be continued and that development consummated. Life in that higher sphere must be conceived in terms of these faculties and in terms of their freer and completer activity. The future world must be a realm in which reason, love and friendship, conscience and

reverence are all continued upon a higher plane where they blend in a spirituality of which this earthly life contains only the promise.

These prophetic powers and capacities of man therefore are at once the culmination of his earthly life and the starting point of a new career on a higher plane in the eternal world to which he goes. The great mark of the present world so far as it concerns man is its tentative and prophetic character. Everything seems to be a beginning. There are buds of promise but none of them come to any worthy fruitage. And the harmony of the universe requires that such qualities should not go to virtual waste but should be steadily and continuously used for the higher work which they presuppose. The embryo fin foreshadows the water and the embryo wing the air. Since the embryo soul is endowed with faculties which demand eternity in which to exercise themselves, if there were no future life there would be failure in the highest of all systems. The apparent law that any capacity foreshadows a sphere for the completest exercise of that capacity would be broken. In short as a world of beginnings, as a primary school, the present

order is intelligible; but it is hopelessly and cruelly absurd as a finality.

Sociology comes to the aid of philosophy and religion when we attempt to forecast the kind of life that individuals are to live in the eternal world. The social system, as we have seen, has its origin in man's very nature. As we look forward therefore into the world to come we feel confident that this system will continue in all its higher aspects. To hazard a forecast of details would be presumptuous and fantastic but of so much we may feel assured: there as here we shall live in society and not in isolation. Any other inference would be in opposition to the whole trend of the evidence. The longing for this higher companionship is peculiarly intensified as the end of life approaches. The prospect of the future world becomes more vivid with the waning of the bodily powers.

Thus from a study of human experience in the present world and an investigation of the nature of man as well as of the social system and its forces, we have ventured to make a forecast of that unseen world into which every individual enters at death. The principles of reading life forward has led us

to a larger plan of the moral system. This forecast has an important bearing on a question which we have already examined—the question of retrospect. With a knowledge of that larger plan we not only gain a greater forward look but also a greater backward look. This increased knowledge comes from a more complete unfolding of the moral system. Now it is in general true that a deeper knowledge of any system and of the laws governing its forces enables us not only to predict but also to retrace. For example the astronomer once having attained a knowledge of the general laws which govern the planetary motions can not only predict eclipses but can also discover the exact time at which eclipses occurred in the past.

But there are some systems in which changes are not merely continuous and governed by law but are also progressive. In such systems the meaning of the whole grows more apparent in the later stages; and it follows that these later stages offer a superior vantage point from which to understand the earlier. This progressive quality attaches to all systems of life. Thus the biologist can understand the function of rudimentary organs in the less evolved types of organism,

such as the nervous system of plants, through his knowledge of the use which these organs serve where they are more fully developed. In the study of civilization it is possible to understand the meaning of early institutions, because in the later stages of the history of society these have come to serve clear and definite uses. Our knowledge of primitive man is derived mainly through reducing the present functions of the social organism to a rudimentary or incipient form. For example knowing as we know what real service government renders to humanity we can understand as was not formerly possible the value of early forms of tribal rulership, even where these were cruel and oppressive. Thus we may understand first beginnings as containing the potentiality of better things.

But these principles which are so abundantly illustrated in man's knowledge of nature and society apply equally to the knowledge which he will gain in the unseen world. After the individual has passed from this temporal sphere to the eternal sphere he will obtain a better and increasing knowledge of the principles which control the moral system. But not only does the individual thus profit by a better grasp of the principles of the sys-

tem, he also profits through the progressive unfolding of the moral system of which he is a part. His life in the unseen world grows out of his life here and reveals its meaning and possibilities. Hence he will look back with deeper insight into the meaning of his whole past career. As he looks back upon his life below, that life falls into place as part of a continuous development of which he does not even yet see the end.

The illumination which this life will receive when viewed from the standpoint of the future world will bring out the meaning of all of its different powers and activities. Whatever of human experience is continued and developed there, will reach its true maturity. We have already seen that the future life is related to this life as the continuation and progressive development of certain faculties which compose the essence of the human spirit. If these faculties be developed there, then it will be possible from that eminence to understand their limited and faltering exercise here. In this life conscience, though it is revered as the highest spring of action, is often hard and constraining. From the standpoint of its higher development the mandates of conscience will be interpreted,

and their fuller significance seen. Here reason is baffled; there its problems will be solved and its very perplexities understood as necessary incidents in spiritual growth. Likewise love and friendship and reverence, followed here only blindly or capriciously, and the source often of grief or blind passion will at length stand revealed as parts of one orderly spiritual development.

Thus whatever belongs properly to man's enduring spiritual life is part of one unbroken progression. The individual's life here should be attended by the thought of a completer vision of himself that he may sometime enjoy. He should remember now that he is preparing that retrospect in which he will be his own judge. And he may be inspired by the thought that his life is thus saved both from darkness and insignificance, since all of its incidents will at length be illuminated and connected.

CHAPTER XIII.

HARM IN THE SYSTEM.

In the present chapter we are to consider the evils of society in the light of our analysis of the social system and the types of influence. The importance of the topic is obvious. The security of a nation in which misery, vice, and crime exist lies in discovering and removing the causes. Injury to human society takes many forms and we must know the nature, extent and methods of the harm before we can discover its cure.

We shall first consider the harm that comes from the abnormal operations in the system itself. Social systems though grounded in the nature of man and intended for benefit to all often work injury. As a municipal water system will distribute both pure and unwholesome water, so the social system will distribute good and evil.

The six types of influence which we have studied show the same progressive power in abnormal operations as in normal. We shall

begin as previously with Diffusion the least efficient type.

False and unwholesome ideas may be spread far and wide through social contact and imitation. They become fads or fashions for a time and run their course like an epidemic disease. This is particularly the case in modern times when printing furnishes so effective a means for spreading ideas. The sensational press which thrives on excitement and curiosity is the great purveyor of evil suggestions. It creates new criminals and furnishes plans and ideas to old ones; for when a crime takes place the method of its committal is described in the exactest detail. Or by false and garbled reports the sensational press may mislead a whole nation and cause international complications.

The diffusive power of evil example is too familiar to require illustration. In our own day this manifests itself strikingly in the field of politics and industry. Corrupt men get rich or win places of honor and authority and the notion spreads that material success is the supreme thing. In our complex financial and political system one bad man who holds a conspicuous place in business or politics may corrupt thousands of others, especially

among the youth ambitious of wealth or office. Again in the spread of civilization the most deplorable feature is the speed with which the vices of the more advanced races are disseminated among savages by the force of example.

The harm is greatly increased when it is diffused in times of intense excitement. This occurs frequently when the intellect is weak and the passions are strong. Mob violence, epidemics of lynching and social stampedes of every kind are examples. A worse form of this harm appears when excitement invades business operations. For then it is often the men of strong intellect who suffer. In the stringency of the market by the manipulations of a shrewd operator they are suddenly thrown into a panic and swept into bankruptcy. The worst harm of all is diffused by civil commotions. Here powers of organized parties are clashing. History furnishes examples of such commotions which have sprung up like the explosion of a volcano. They resemble the eruption of Krakatoa a few years since, when the dust mingling in the atmosphere spread far and wide, causing the lurid glare, sunset after sunset, to be seen around the world. So baneful influences are

thrown into vast areas of civil society by outbreaks of violence and spread through the moral atmosphere of a whole nation.

The method of Succession lends itself readily to evil forces; and the effect is more pernicious, since Succession is a higher type of influence than Diffusion.

In the chapter on Succession it was pointed out that our own mastery of the relations of space and time is of the highest moment for civilization. The development of facilities for transportation and for the transmission of news was seen to be a very large factor in the social progress. Obviously this same development gives additional power to influences for evil. The Black Death of the fourteenth century had its origin in China. It made its way along the overland trade route to the Volga, thence to Tana on the Don and from there to Kaffa on the Crimean Straits. From Kaffa it was carried on merchant vessels to Genoa and Marseilles. From Marseilles it travelled to Northern France and was carried by ship from Calais to a part of Dorsetshire whence it spread successively from one English town to another, reached Wales and Scotland and extended as far north as Iceland and Greenland.

The Black Death numbered its victims by millions. Had mediæval Europe possessed our means of transportation its ravages would have been incalculable. Even with our knowledge of medicine and of sanitary laws we must be constantly on our guard against the transmission of disease from place to place. And what is true of disease is still more strikingly manifested in moral contagion. If deprived of modern facilities of communication the sensational press would have slight influence but with these aids it speaks to the whole civilized world at once.

The system of custom, law and tradition which as we have seen is the great factor in social succession, may also transmit abnormal influences. Trade and politics become infected by customs of doubtful morality which are handed down from one man to another until they are accepted as matters of course. Even the courts suffer in the same way, for wrong traditions become intrenched behind vested interests. Sometimes indeed the custom or tradition was not originally bad but has become so because it is outgrown. Society progresses by adjusting itself to new conditions, and thought by adjusting itself to new knowledge. When this adjustment

does not take place society is clogged with worn-out institutions and thought is hampered by obsolete ideas.

Evil acquires still greater power in the divergent type of influence. A divergent system contains an element of danger from the very fact that it subordinates a wide area to the control of a centre. When therefore some evil force takes possession of the centre, it works great injury not only to the centre itself but also to the surrounding region.

If there is organized control the evil is most effectively distributed when the central force rules other forces which operate at minor points of divergence. Thus when a huge trust with branches far and near works by methods contrary at once to law and morals, its branches must share its policy and its evil influence thus augmented becomes very great.

The same evil may be traced in the abuse of political power. A familiar instance is the case of Paris during the Reign of Terror. The central government was in the hands of ruffians who not only slaughtered their opponents in the capital but sent out governors of their own stripe to the several provinces with instructions to do likewise. Some of

these subordinates surpassed their principals in blood-thirstiness. All France was under the control of a highly organized system of murderers.

The results of evil forces working by the method of Convergence are still greater. The concentration of bad influences in certain spots vastly increases their power for social harm and even creates such power when the same influences if scattered would not possess it. The conditions of soil and climate which caused the convergence of slave-holding interests in a group of contiguous States made those interests well-nigh irresistible. The slave-States reinforced each other's demands by sympathy and political support and when the time came for an appeal to arms they acted as a unit.

The congestion of population in great cities furnishes another case in point. The vicious classes are brought together in such numbers that they can often bribe or defy the municipal authorities. A dozen liquor saloons in a town of five thousand inhabitants may be no great menace, for they are easily controlled even when they act in unison. But twelve hundred saloons in a city of half a million inhabitants are an immense force. Their

combination not only enables them to have laws administered much as they like but also to exert pernicious influence on public opinion in general.

On a still larger scale a whole country may become the meeting place for evil forces. There is serious danger of this in the United States. Unrestricted immigration has brought together all sorts and conditions of men, differing widely in personal habits, national customs, moral standards and religious faith. The convergence of such multitudes of miscellaneous aliens is certainly a menace to the republic.

In the germinal method, from its very nature, abnormal influences are particularly harmful because it is so difficult to check or neutralize them. They are especially injurious when they make their attack at an early stage of development. Scanty nourishment or irritations of the nervous system are far more dangerous to a child than to an adult, because growth confirms and develops their bad results. The strong drink and late hours to which many London children were at one time deliberately habituated, produced dwarfs. The mind too may be permanently stunted

or deformed if its powers are not properly trained in tender years.

Still more serious is any lack of training of the moral nature. If a child is not taught to discern right from wrong, to practice one and to avoid the other, a bias will result which all subsequent life may not be able to rectify. The worst effects of vicious habits is that the wish to reform at last dies out, or that if it survive, the power is lacking. "Corruption of youth" has been a term of infamy in every land and age. Those who by evil suggestion, bad example or, worst of all, by deliberate effort, warp the nature of the young and infect their very souls are the most dangerous enemies of society.

Germinal evil not only checks the operation and spoils the beneficent quality of a system, but it may even transform the system utterly. Philip II. kidnapped the son of William the Silent, and brought him up as a fanatical hater of his own country. Hundreds of thousands of Christian children were bred into Turkish janissaries. Institutions also may be perverted. Even the Inquisition was not originally intended as an instrument of obscurantism and massacre. At first it used only harmless legal process. After it

had taken root in different countries, the eagerness of the inquisitors and the approval of Pope Innocent IV. led to the employment of torture. This spread through the carefully organized system until its abuses, especially in Spain, have made the name of the inquisition synonymous with cruel perversion of justice.

The most tragic illustration of germinal evil may be found in heredity. There are thousands of men and women whose bodies are their burdens, whose abnormal brains cannot think right, who are slaves of their ill regulated impulses and ungoverned passions. Such warped, degenerate souls are seen in every rank in society. A notorious example is afforded by the royal family of Spain. Beginning when John of Castile married Isabella of Portugal and ending with the death of the imbecile Charles II, the annals of the Spanish Bourbons are the history of one long case of hereditary neurosis, extending over three hundred and fifty years.

The law of heredity applies to nations as well as to individuals and families. The present character of a nation depends on its past history. Its inhabitants are the result of the stream of heredity as modified by the

vicissitudes through which the country has passed. If a policy of religious intolerance or foreign conquest sacrifices the best men that the country breeds, the weak, the unthrifty and the vicious will propagate and possess the land. Heredity carries over no oppression, but it transmits those qualities of mind and heart which invite oppression. The survival of the unfittest is the prime cause of the downfall of nations.

The growth of certain institutions and ideas may work evil as well as good. There is no more instructive example of this than the history of slavery in the United States. Here the institution grew from very small beginnings. In 1619 a few African slaves were imported into the infant colony of Virginia. Their number gradually increased in the southern colonies and a few slaves were owned in the northern. But as soon as the sparsely populated colonies were joined into an organic nation with possibilities of extensive growth the evil took a different and alarming form. Whether slavery should be allowed in each new state as it was incorporated into the Union, became the leading question in national politics. The fact that the institution was allowed the freest possible develop-

ment in one half of the expanding Union, and was completely cut off in the other half led to the war that threatened to destroy the Union altogether.

It is clear then that in a world of germination, evil also may germinate, and in a growing world evil as well as good may grow. And often it grows to portentous and destructive dimensions.

Finally the greatest possibilities of harm are found in a correlative system. Such a system implies the highest organization of its members and the most complex interaction of its parts; hence in such a system, action for good or evil must have its widest range. Action on a heap of stones may leave things much as they were before; but violence to a complex mechanism in any of its parts may disorder the whole machine. Injury to an inorganic body may end with itself; but injury to an essential part of a living organism may mean the death of the whole.

So also in a loosely organized society like tribes of savages, disturbance in one part spreads but a little way; while in the highly complex organization of the modern state and modern civilization, because of the close

interweaving of the myriad interests of society, evil in any place is quickly felt throughout the civilized world. Moreover, because of these correlations, a small force of evil may have a great and growing destructive influence. As a voice may bring down an avalanche, or lifting the flood-gates may release the force of the stream, so a slight mischief may precipitate evil consequences out of all proportion to itself. This lies in the nature of a correlated and organized system and this fact gives evil its greatest opportunity.

Of course the operation of abnormal influence in a correlative system may follow any of the several types of correlation which we have studied. Such influences may work through indirect action as when unwise philanthropy begets pauperism; through Co-operation as in corrupt political alliances; through Reaction as in the change from Puritan austerity to the license of the Restoration; through Coalition as when the representatives of large interests betrays his trust or through Antagonism. In most of these types further discussion is unnecessary, but we must dwell upon Antagonism for a moment. Antagonistic forces may work ab-

normally in two ways. First there may be such a conflict between good forces as results in a deadlock, and evil may hold the balance of power. This often happens in politics, as when a corrupt trickster plays various moral and social interests off against each other and thus is able to control the issue for his own bad ends. Secondly there may be a direct antagonism between good and evil and evil may win the day. Such a victory for the time being is the most complete disaster that can overtake the social system.

When antagonism is serial and progressive in its development, it is most powerful for harm. This is aptly illustrated in the case of a moral decision made by a growing youth when he is confronted by two correlative forces, the one evil, the other good. He yields to the evil. As life advances, opportunities for evil multiply, and these are joined by the growing tendencies within. The influence of that early decision will make its power felt in all subsequent decisions. The first wrongful act weakens self-respect; the first yielding to corrupt pleasures leads to worse indulgence; the first falsehood prompts the utterance of others, to prevent exposure. Thus the momentum of life hurries the grow-

ing man into a larger and larger sphere of temptation. At times these come in such quick succession that he plunges with desperate rashness onward to ruin. A stream reaching to the ocean from far distant hills in the country, is crossed by a score of bridges and a score of mills on its banks are surrounded by thrifty hamlets. In a spring freshet, groups gather in these hamlets, watching the rising waters with straining eyes and anxious fears lest their homes may not escape destruction. The sudden act of a boy above the uppermost dam, perhaps in sport, sets loose a single block of ice. Borne by the waters, it breaks that dam away; it comes down with the fragments and with the rushing stream and strikes the second dam; it goes on with accumulating waters and fragments, carrying away dam after dam, until it strikes the last. Breaking this final barrier, it leaps into the sunlight, like a sword of a conqueror and bears the thrift of a century into the sea. And the beginning of a fatal course of sin is quite as insignificant. Many a defaulter looks back to a series of unwise risks and speculations, which though small at first, compasses his ultimate ruin. Many a pillow at midnight is wet with

tears from the memory of restraints broken which opened sluice-ways to little vices that have become crimes by successive repetitions. In his cell the murderer recounts the history of his downward course from the first yielding to passion.

We have hitherto confined our attention to the circulation of evil through the system by the various methods of influence. But there is harm that invades the essential structure of the system itself and impairs or destroys it; and this we call structural harm.

The propagation of structural harm may take place in various ways. One way is through juxtaposition, as when leprosy consumes successively the various parts of the body. Another way is through subdivision, as when poison goes through a body of water. Another way is through transformation, as when yeast transforms in turn all the particles of the mass. Still another way is through the connections of the system. In certain systems the nexus is clearly distinguishable from the integers, as is illustrated in the Crystal Palace: the panes of glass are the integers, and the iron framework is the nexus. A metallic rod through

the center of one pane may conduct an electric bolt harmlessly away; but if the rod touches the rim that encloses the pane, then the bolt would course from one rim to another through the whole framework and cover acres with fragments. Whenever structural harm is found in connection with any of these principles of perversion, it is fatal.

Some systems, instead of being concrete wholes, present their component parts—material, instrument and power—clearly distinct from one another; and fatal harm may be regarded as operating through one of these component parts, and in this indirect way affecting the whole system. For example if the power of the heart is impaired, the weakness in power is felt throughout the whole arterial system; if the heart's main instrument, the aorta, is impaired, the effects extend to all the other arteries; and if a particle of the blood, the material, becomes poisoned, the harm spreads throughout all the blood.

Let us consider first the spread of fatal harm through the material of the system. If the water which circulates through the water system of a city becomes contaminated, all the residents may become affected. If false ideas and vicious thoughts circulate

through the press, the whole community is demoralized. A brilliant but immoral writer may send his vicious influences throughout the whole circle of his readers.

The same principle holds true with reference to the spread of harm through the instruments of a system. If on the arrival of news from a foreign country the main telegraph line be cut, the injury defeats the spread of the news throughout the whole nation. If the main trunk line of a railway system becomes blocked, traffic on all the connecting lines is interrupted, and thus the harm spreads through all the instruments of transportation. If a general is expecting an attack and there are forces at a distance that can be summoned, this block on the line may defeat their arrival; and their failure to arrive at the proper time may cause the loss of the campaign.

The general efficiency of a system depends upon its sustaining and vitalizing power. Such power ramifies throughout the system and manifests its vigor locally in all parts. It is a general principle that when a power is weak to some extent in one line of operation it is weak in all similar lines to that same extent. In the distribution of water through

the pipes of the city, if the pump is not able to drive the water above a certain level in one pipe, it is not able to drive it above that level in any other pipe similarly situated. Just so the efficiency of social organizations depends upon the power of the leaders. If this power is weak to some degree in one direction, it is weak to the same degree in all similar directions. When a teacher treats a pupil with manifest unfairness, the confidence of all the pupils is shaken. When one soldier is unjustly disgraced, this weakens the commander's influence throughout the army and tends to destroy the whole structure of discipline. Government also must be wisely organized on right principles, and those principles must be firmly and impartially enforced by the ruling power. The first essential of government is the maintenance of just and lawful authority. This is the function of the ruler. If he is unable or unwilling to maintain his authority, then the least disobedience is structural evil.

In all civil governments the paramount danger is the attack of structural evil, either through indifference to law, or through injustice committed by the rulers themselves. Governments can survive invasion and re-

bellion; they can endure oppressive monopolies and desolating strikes; they can keep in subjection immoralities which it is impossible to extirpate. But the perversion of justice by the government itself is a structural evil which attacks the very life of the state. And the higher the authority that perverts justice, the more far-reaching and ruinous the evil. The executive, the legislature and the judiciary may be merciful and often tolerant outside the law; but they must always be absolutely just and impartial.

What pressure has often been brought to bear on an incorruptible executive, when he has stood alone in his resistance to some notorious infraction of the principles of justice! Petitions of thousands, enforced by friendship and by the entreaties and tears of the innocent, have pleaded for the pardon of a dangerous offender. In the executive's hand is the law which reaches every person in the whole domain. He holds in trust the stored possessions of centuries; busy industries far and near look to him for protection. Sleeping millions in city and hamlet are exempt from molestation, because the framework of the law is strong. Let the ruler swerve from his duty, let this one offence go

unpunished: that breach of trust will run like an electric shock through the whole fabric of society, and every repetition of the error will intensify the structural harm.

As with the executive, so with the judiciary. Judicial decisions must often be made in the midst of clashing interests, of partisan strife and of sparring advocates. The heated passions of the populace may press the case for hasty determination. But the judges must sit calmly, guided by reason and right. They are conscious that they are operating in a system whose pathway through the nation's history is undeviating. Intricate legal questions have threatened to confuse their judgment, but have been unravelled and set in their true light. Claims involving vast interests have been ably disputed, but at their bidding they have been settled forever. Great political parties have met in contests that agitated the whole country, but have yielded to a word from the bench. The government itself has been litigant in that august court, and when the decree has been rendered against it, has retired in respectful acquiescence. Judges have said to mobs, "Thus far and no farther." They have held on their course through revolutions. Looking beyond writ-

ten laws to primitive beliefs, customs and necessities, they have arrived at unchanging principles and these, though not formulated and enacted by legislation, are yet so wrought into common law that they are as binding as if they had been adopted by a congress of nations. The judges care not whether the case involves a dollar or a million, the boundary of a garden or that of an empire, the right of the weakest to cast a vote or that of the strongest to grasp a sceptre. Even the humblest alien must not appeal in vain when his natural rights are threatened. A band of slaves overpower their captors on the high seas, their ship is picked up adrift and towed into port, rendition is urged by the owners, the slaves are without money and are unable to speak the language. The whole structure of international law, making the slave-trade piracy, rests on the decree of the court. Now suppose that the decision is in favor of the owners and that the captives are remanded to slavery; suppose it comes to the knowledge of the public that the judges were bribed. The outrage on the captured savages is a trifle compared with the blow to the majesty of the law.

As with the executive and the judiciary, so also with the legislature. The legislative power is often forced to deal with international questions. Every nation sets bounds which no other must pass and commits watch and ward over all its interests to chosen representatives. They must suffer no foreign aggression however slight to pass unchallenged, for the authority of a nation depends upon the respect it commands from other nations at all times and places. Let a single house on the frontier be seized by another government, and what rallying of forces to restore it to its rightful owner! Let it be but a cabin on a little island, and what mustering of naval forces to exact redress! A frail vessel in the peaceful paths of commerce must be guarded like so many feet of native soil. Let that vessel be stopped in mid-ocean, let it be seized and detained, and no matter whether in arctic, antarctic or equatorial seas, all needed warships must be sent to secure its release. If legislators are forgetful of the rights of the humblest citizens, or obsequious to powerful nations, or bought with money—then the very structure of the government is undermined.

We need not hesitate to extend these considerations to the moral government of the universe. If there were partiality and favoritism in that government, if wrong-doing were ever ignored so that the righteous and the wicked were treated alike, the whole spiritual universe would suffer irreparable structural harm. Sovereignty itself can have no choice here but to carry out the eternal and unchanging dictates of justice and righteousness.

One disloyal life, lived with impunity, would fill with dismay and consternation all moral beings in this world or in any other. As the inviolability of physical law is the supreme condition of science, so the inviolability of moral law is the supreme condition of ethics. Without it, we should be plunged into hopeless confusion.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CURE OF HARM IN THE SYSTEM.

In the preceding chapter we saw that while the social system in its ideal purpose and intent is good and beneficent, evil may nevertheless work through it and perhaps destroy even the system itself. The effect of our study was rather depressing. As one from visiting hospitals and reading the annals of disease may be led for a time to conclude that health and soundness nowhere exist, so a study of evil in the system unless balanced by a broader survey may tend to a despairing view of the outlook for humanity. We now pass to consider the opposite facts which make for hope and cheerfulness.

And first it is plain that if society is to exist at all, evil must always be subordinate. As we have said, evil can flourish only as a parasite on goodness and can never gain complete ascendancy without destroying itself. Thus the very existence and continuance of the social system prove the supreme

power of the good. The good indeed is not yet fully triumphant but it is gaining on evil all the while. A further study will show that the system itself tends to eliminate evil and to further the good.

A preliminary principle is that the social system is a developing one and is moving toward its fuller consummation. In this process evil may be largely a phase of our imperfect development, and to this extent the cure of harm will take the direction of eliminating it by growing beyond it, or by bringing the curative forces of life itself into play. In the nature of the case both of these processes must appear in any vital and developing system. In all organic life there is provision for restoration of health within certain limits. The vital forces rally and expel the disease or repair the mischief. Bishop Butler was the first to extend this analogy to the whole natural order, which he described as a "remedial system." As an organism reacts against disease, so normal human nature reacts against evil, and social forces rally to overcome the menacing and destructive forces that arise from time to time. The incontestible fact that society has endured and im-

proved gives us at the outset of our study in this chapter the vital standpoint of health, recuperation, growth and progress as the normal condition of society.

Another preliminary principle is the self-limiting power of evil. It seems hardly too much to say that selfishness itself is one of the conservative forces of society. Of course it is distinctly anti-social and destructive, but under restraint it becomes a great source of law and order. The selfish man left to himself would subordinate everything to his own interests. But there are other selfish men who wish to do the same thing, and every man cannot have his way. Every man's first vote might be cast selfishly, but every man's second choice is for justice and impartiality. Thus out of the clash of conflicting selfish interests, arises a social order that approximates justice and the common good. The security which the selfish man desires for his own interests is attainable only through an established moral order, and thus selfishness itself, the arch anti-social principle, is made to become a supporter of justice and social order. Even a rabble of thieves thrown together in some Botany Bay settlement would

have to establish and enforce the same principles that obtain in a moral community. Thus evil to a certain extent is its own cure and holds itself in check. It is not merely a parasite on goodness, as in the case of sharpers, knaves and hypocrites, whose occupation would be gone if the great body of men were not honest and sincere; but it also tends positively to limit itself and its destructive action by working the opposite principle of good. This self-limiting power of evil is one of the most beneficent features of the human order considered as a means of moral development. Just as some disease-producing bacteria secrete substances which destroy themselves so the tendencies of moral evils to eliminate one another afford us great encouragement.

From these preliminary principles we turn now to the actual cure of harm in systems. One of the most important influences exerted in this process is the internal rallying power which exists in every organic system. We shall find this power both in the life of individuals and in all social systems.

Every individual has these forces of recuperation in himself. He has the ability to draw upon his own resources for the con-

serving of his spiritual interests. As a social and moral being he possesses in a high degree the rallying power characteristic of his body as an animal organism. In mechanical systems when one part is injured there is no resident force in the system which can replace it. There is no power in the machine which tends to repair the worn-out part or to substitute new parts for the old. In living organisms, on the contrary, there is an inherent tendency that makes for recuperation. It is the rule of all organic life that the organism normally possesses more vitality and physical force than it ordinarily needs. Bodily disease is cured mainly by drafts on such reserve powers. The surplus energies of the whole react to make good any losses of special parts.

This is an essential distinction between mechanical and organic systems. The characteristic power of the organism appears for instance in the way new shoots of a tree grow when other shoots have been cut off. If the bark is torn from the side of the tree and twigs are properly inserted between the upper and the lower edges of the wound the sap will ascend by means of these twigs and new bark will be formed. Our bodies have the

same recuperative power. If a wound is made in the flesh the healing process begins at once. When the limb is amputated the blood in the tied-up artery has power to form new passages to the venous system for itself and thus to keep up the circulation. Furthermore the bodily system is so constituted that when one organ does not do its work properly the other organs endeavor to supply its function. In short the bodily organism consists not only of coöperating members but of mutually supporting and compensating parts.

The soul too may be regarded as an organic system. Each part is virtually related to the whole and has its place and power and meaning from its relation thereto. It has the tendency to self-cure. There are resident forces in it that make for recovery. One of these forces is the instinct of self-preservation, which operates in even the lowest forms of life. There is an instinctive tendency to withdraw from anything that is harmful or dangerous. In the more highly developed forms of life this instinct becomes rationalized but the principle is the same: to escape from whatever threatens the preservation of life.

The terms "recuperation" of the mind and "renewal" of the soul are not mere metaphors. There are deep regions in man's life whence come thoughts that make for his mental health; there are pure feelings in the heart that have great refreshing power. The mind may recover its power to think the truth, the heart its power to feel the beautiful, and the will its power to struggle for the realization of goodness.

Again, when a man does wrong there are inner checks upon him. There is the restraint of his better nature. There is the condemning voice of conscience. The parable of the Prodigal Son is a familiar instance. His conversion was due to the severity of his discomfort and to the power of his moral nature to revive old memories and awaken the latent sense of duty into poignant remorse. The greatest expression of penitence in literature is found in David's repentance for the murder of Uriah. In the Middle Ages sudden accessions of remorse following outbreaks of passion and ambition led nobles and rulers to penance and often to retirement for life in religious institutions. And in every age the evil doer is "kicking against the pricks" from the very beginning of his sinful career.

The soul is the great battlefield of history and therein the forces of right oppose the forces of wrong. Reason rallies to control blind passion; the sense of duty steadies the soul in the presence of temptation. In our moral life we all feel these righteous forces at work.

The human soul itself is built for righteousness. This fact manifests itself in the ideals of the moral nature and in the voice of conscience. The law of life in the body reveals itself in the health and comfort that attend regard for physical law and in the pain and disease that follow physical wrongdoing. In the same way the law of life in the soul manifests itself in the spiritual well-being that attends obedience to moral law and in the self-condemnation and remorse that follow evil courses. Conscience arms itself with terrible scourges for punishment. In the long run the way of the transgressor is hard, while the path of the just is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The verdict of the race as recorded in the great literatures and great religions is that only in righteousness is there safety or peace. The power in man that condemns evil and makes for righteousness

is also a recuperative power that makes for returning moral health and goodness. Forces springing from this source, when duly roused become the spiritual champions of the empire.

All social systems have a similar rallying power. Society as well as the individual constantly seeks to store up resources against evil days. As an individual accumulates funds in banks and insurance companies to strengthen himself against assaults of fortune, so society builds hospitals, asylums and prisons and gathers wealth to protect itself against future as well as present perils. These storages of social surplus are correlated with anticipated needs of struggle against harm.

The inherent curative tendencies thus far considered are reinforced by supplementary aid from without, and in default of such aid they could not effect the cure of harm. To these efficient auxiliaries we now direct our attention.

The first of these moral auxiliaries is the family relation. Altruism is no late development. Its extension to universal humanity is indeed a recent unfolding, but the virtue has been present in the family relation from the start. In the home children get their first and

best lessons in obedience, self-control, mutual consideration and all the virtues needed for living together. Parents also get some of their best training from their relation to their children. The child takes the parents out of themselves and leads them to a patience and tenderness and self-sacrifice which could hardly be learned otherwise. And thus it comes to pass that parenthood becomes our highest symbol for the divine. It interprets to us the divine goodness, and the depths of God's patience with the human race. If human life could exist without the family, as in Plato's fancied Republic, it could with difficulty become moral at all. The obligation to the family reputation and family expectations also operates as a powerful restraint against evil courses. A worthy ancestry is in itself a certain security for the descendants.

A second auxiliary that makes strongly for morality, and thus for the elimination of the evils that flow from immorality, is that sympathy which is a part of the original furniture of the soul. Sympathy is not indeed the sum of morality, as Adam Smith thought, but as men are constituted it is a fundamental condition of morality.

It is necessary for the encouragement and inspiration of the individual. Through sympathy the individual receives fresh enthusiasm and new strength for his spiritual battle. The sympathy of the family is very powerful in the life of the child. The steadfast faith that others have in men encourages them to make strenuous efforts to live a noble life. In the moral life especially we are members one of another.

Sympathy is still more needed to bring the individual within a wider range of moral interest. Men are not much impressed by the rights or wrongs or needs of those to whom they stand in no relations of sympathy. Humanity itself constitutes a certain bond, but it is seldom effective without some measure of acquaintance. Our common humanity leads us to sympathy in cases like ships lost at sea, but usually something more than our common humanity is needed. The civilized world had largely agreed on the wrongs of slavery, but the conviction remained dormant until the imagination was powerfully impressed with the horrors of the practice. Uncle Tom's Cabin raised armies to enforce the emancipation proclaimed by Lincoln. The rights

of the backward races have been ignored too long because of our failure to recognize their humanity, and this in turn has been due partly to selfishness but still more to ignorance arising from distance and lack of common interests. The latter cause is being fast removed by the extension of the "world neighborhood," and we are coming to see the oneness of humanity. We are more and more realizing ourselves as forming one social body so that humanity reacts more and more extensively and intensively against harm to any part. This is putting an end to the rapacity and insolence of the higher races in their dealings with the lower. The facts are too near and too vividly realized to permit us to rest in the old indifference. Even the oppressor of the Congo Free State could not ignore the rising tide of humanity and the imperious condemnation of public opinion.

This power of sympathy as a force for good is manifesting itself on an ever-growing scale. Everywhere men are nearer to us and therefore they are becoming dearer to us. This appears in the aid rendered to communities stricken by disaster, as in the case of the recent calamities at San Francisco, Valparaiso

and Jamaica, and in the famine relief offered to India and China. It also appears in the growing power of public opinion on international relations. The sympathy of England and the United States for Japan in the recent war was an expression of it. The loud outcry of Europe and America at the horrible misgovernment and massacres by the Turkish authorities will put an end to them some day. No nation is now so shameless as to be indifferent to the esteem of others.

Another factor in social development that makes in the main for good is the spread of education and general culture. This is an important auxiliary without which morality would sink into ignorant good intentions. The usual objection that education and culture merely give power but have no moral quality is only half true at the best and is mainly false. The value of morality and religion lies in a development of the whole soul; and the only thing that saves them from destructive narrowness is their promotion of all human interests. Poverty of ideas, and limited intellectual sympathy drag the moral and religious nature itself down into abjectness and squalor, and cause it to

grovel in destructive superstition. Every one who has the passion for truth and knows the joy of the search for it and the deep satisfaction in possessing it, can bear witness to its power of creating a more serious interest in life. The beauty of this world of wonder and its representations in the fine arts have a transfiguring influence. It saves men from being absorbed in sordid and vulgar interests. It causes them to rejoice in the finer things of life and to find satisfaction in the realities which minister to man's deeper needs. The great interpretative principles of life which the master philosophic minds have developed have the same influence. The forces of culture tend to drive out the prejudices and illusions which so dominate ignorant minds. They elevate the taste, purify the feelings and give the mind a nobler satisfaction. They tend to make men effective in their coöperations with one another and with the forces of nature and with the divine reason. They make men feel at home in the spiritual world which answers to all the deepest needs of their minds and hearts.

The auxiliary factors thus far mentioned as making for the cure of harm are founded

in human nature itself. There is a final factor which has its foundation in the natural order of physical life. Everything which grows to maturity is subject to decay. There is a perpetual renewal of natural products and a continual succession of human generations. Now this order of physical life is a fact of profound significance for the renewal and purification of society. Death is the great friend of human progress. When old age has brought stagnation, when convention is rusted fast so that new ideas are rejected, there is one sure remedy. Death removes those whose day is done, or those who have mortgaged themselves to evil, and a new and wholesome life has a chance. Birth and death go together in the human order, and both are equally necessary to the progress of humanity in its present phase.

These steady replenishings of decay and waste are best observed on a large scale after the devastations of war. Mill has pointed out that in a few years after the conquest of a country by an enemy, things are much as they were before. What has been destroyed would soon have perished and have been replaced from the ordinary surplus of social

life. Macaulay noted that the terrible cost of the Napoleonic wars did not prevent Europe from growing richer. The millions in arms did not destroy wealth as fast as peaceful workers created it. Thus nature perpetually renews itself. The crop of the new year makes up the lack of the old. The stores of nature are no fixed amount which cannot be used without permanent diminution; they are continually replenished by fresh harvests. Such devastations, followed by recovery and surprising harvests are perpetually recurring in the field of morals. The riot of disorder and lawlessness is followed by a powerful reaction. Public opinion is set against prevalent wickedness. Many a man who could bear the pangs of his own dull or undeveloped conscience shrinks at the ostracism of society. This social condemnation has an immense restraining influence. Even the most abandoned quail before it. The same social conscience under the guidance of intellect is effecting reforms in every field of life. Moral progress of the individual and of society itself is continually going on. Social forms, government, art, literature, industry and finance

are gradually being brought into harmony with the moral nature.

The results thus far are encouraging. Society is not handed over helpless to the powers of evil. The enthusiasm of humanity is growing and intensifying and the kingdom of man is at hand. The living forces of society are rallying more and more effectively against the forces of harm and death, and final victory is sure.

This recuperative power appears conspicuously in the moral tone of society as a whole. Public morality may seem low enough to-day, but when we look no farther back than the recent past we see that it is higher than ever before. Wasteful display is going out of fashion. The rich are recognizing to an unheard-of extent the obligations which their wealth imposes. The philanthropic gifts of a recent year amounted to more than \$130,000,000 in the United States alone. The public conscience too has grown more sensitive. Men have learned that social conditions are social products and they feel it their duty to improve them. This sense of responsibility leads to better sanitation, better housing for the poor, better instruction, and to the prohibition of industrial

and financial methods that are contrary to public policy. In political morality also the same advancement is seen. A man of notorious wickedness could with difficulty be elected to any prominent position nowadays; and a good name is a valuable asset in politics. The right of office-holders to plunder the community is more and more contested and the way of the grafter is becoming hard. All these signs of progress are encouraging and full of promise.

Thus far we have concerned ourselves with such remedial forces in human nature and society as operate spontaneously. Besides these, however, there are the definitely organized forces of law and order which society calls into existence for its own protection under the form of government. Concerning the true function of government there is no agreement among writers on political science. Some would restrict the field of social control to police duty only, while others would extend it to include a general supervision of all social activities. The tendency at present is to enlarge the field of social control. On either theory the relation of government to harm in the system and to its cure is very essential.

And it is in this field that we note great progress in recent years, owing to the extension of knowledge. Penology has always had a right moral feeling behind it; but from lack of knowledge its story abounds in horrors. The history of prisons, and of the treatment of criminals is revolting in the extreme. The old theory was that crime is always the outcome of evil intent and that society owes no duty to the criminal except his punishment. The modern view, in its most radical form, is that crime is the inevitable result of heredity and environment and that the criminal is not morally responsible. The truth as usual must lie somewhere between these two extremes. The old theory now seems stupid and inhuman; yet common-sense refuses to be satisfied with shifting guilt from the individual to his collective ancestry or to his surroundings. Every case must be judged on its own merits. Still no reasonable man doubts that there is a large class of moral defectives and that these are not proper objects of vengeance. They should be treated like the victims of disease—cured if possible, but kept at all events from spreading contagion. The recognition of these facts is

working a general change in the whole science of penology. This science now has the double aim of defending society and of reforming the criminal, so far as this can be done without imperilling the more important social interests.

But whatever view we take of the nature of crime, society has no more imperative duty than to make wise laws and then to uphold them with all the power at its command. Wise legislation is needed for social guidance, and for the development of both the social and the individual conscience. Law is the great instrument by which the collective wisdom of the community is crystallized for social guidance and defence. Through law the individual gets the benefit of a wisdom beyond his own for his direction and of a power beyond his own for support and defence. In this way the community is saved from the weakness and waywardness of individuals, and the continuity of social order is secured. But no law is really in force unless it is enforced by proper sanctions. Law without penalty is not law but only advice or exhortation. Whenever a community forgets this and begins to trifle

with law it invites anarchy and social disintegration.

The repressive and punitive function of government has been the most prominent in history and even this has seldom been wisely exercised. But in the complex relations of the modern state, government tends more and more to exercise the function of prevention and guidance. Legislation is now taking up larger questions of social development: the conservation and utilization of natural resources, the encouragement of works of public utility, the facilitating of private enterprise by appropriate legislation, the guarding of the public health by pure food and sanitary laws, the protection of society against individual rapacity, and the revision of all individual rights and all social customs and traditions in the interest of the commonwealth. It is in this field that the great significance of governmental action as a means for preventing and curing harm is to be found in the future.

The last factor we shall mention as making for the healing and perfection of life is religion. This is the highest element in human nature. It lifts man above the visible and temporal and allies him with the unseen

and eternal. Without religion man is only the highest of the animals; with it he is a child of God. In religion, life has always found its highest and strongest inspiration and its deepest and purest spring. If that which is perfect should come in human life religion would be found coördinating and subordinating all our faculties. It is their summit and crown. They all find their security and full realization in religion.

History may appear to be against this outlook. Religion does not seem always to have held this high place or to have fulfilled this lofty function. Hence the imperfect development of imperfect beings will of course show an imperfect religion. But even under such conditions and apart from any question of its truth, religion has always played a most important part in human history and commonly a beneficent one. There seems now to be no question that the beginnings of society were bound up with rites and customs that were essentially religious. And however harsh and cruel they may seem to us, they were useful in their time, furnishing the social fixity that was supremely needed at the beginning and the tie that

bound together ignorant tribes into larger social wholes.

The supreme instance of this social service on the part of religion is found in Christianity. Other religions have served, but their limitations and imperfections are fast rendering them obsolete. They are unable to meet the demands which the developed intellect and conscience make upon them. They can furnish no worthy thought of God or man for the guidance and inspiration of life, and because of this they are visibly perishing before our eyes. But Christianity remains fresh and young and is rapidly advancing to world empire. It is continually purging away the impurities that have attached themselves to it and ever more clearly manifesting its own ideal tendencies. We are not here concerned with any question of the theological truth of Christianity; only with its historical results and its sociological tendency. Undeniably it has been and remains the most important fact in all history and the greatest of all the forces that make for the healing, the inspiration and the progress of the nations. In Christianity center in their highest form the healing and inspiring forces of our human world. Here all noble endeavor finds its

inspiration and warrant, and every worthy aspiration finds assurance of its fulfillment.

Our survey of the curative tendencies of the system cannot fail to be encouraging. The mechanism of influence in itself provides for the propagation of all influence, good and bad alike. Whether the net results shall be predominantly good or bad depends on the condition under which the system works and on the nature of the factors involved. The laws of physics and chemistry are compatible with life and death; and they are as operative in the desert waste as in the fruitful field, in the dead body as in the living organism. There can be no life if these laws are violated, but whether life shall really exist depends on something beyond these laws. And so it is with the laws of influence. Their results depend on something beyond them. It is, therefore, a matter of profound satisfaction to every earnest soul to find that the great mechanism of life and society makes predominantly for good. The compulsion of social conditions sometimes bears heavily on the individual, but on the whole it makes for civilization. The progress of invention often disturbs social equilibrium, and causes hard times for many until adjustment to the new

conditions has been secured, but nevertheless such progress is taking the drudgery off human shoulders and turning it over to cosmic forces and muscles of steel, thus leaving men free to develop a higher human existence. The contagion of example often poisons, but in the main it makes for righteousness. Heredity, too, is a source of frightful ills, but its net result is good; otherwise society could not endure. The iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, but mercy is kept for thousands of generations of the righteous. This ancient Hebrew utterance is the truth. The evil stock runs out, for it is not in harmony with the conditions of existence, but righteousness endures from age to age. Evil is plainly a parasite and has no permanent root in itself. Humanity is sound at the core. Conscience may be weak but its dominion is extending. Under its rebuking gaze many a hoary iniquity has withered away and many another is doomed. The power not ourselves is more plainly than ever making for righteousness and humanity and the higher life. This tendency is not everywhere and always apparent, but it be-

comes manifest in the long run. Righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is the reproach and destruction of any people. Its wages have not been changed. They remain fixed at the old rate of death.

We are thus led again to the idea that the system in its ultimate nature is moral. Upon the fact of this morality depends the vital faith of the race. When men think the forces of the system indifferent to the evils of the human world, they grow hopeless and pessimistic. When, on the other hand, they see the reality of the moral order and realize that its forces work for righteousness, then they take courage and gird themselves for the struggle. The despair of pessimism is its own condemnation; as the inspiring effect of a serious optimism is the best proof of its truth. And the system is not only moral, but morality is becoming more and more triumphant. The perfect has indeed not yet come, but humanity has made vast progress within historical times, and even within the last hundred years. Such an age as ours is full of encouragement for the individual. True he feels his responsibility to society as never before, for he sees that self cure and social

cure must go together. But he can live and work in the assurance that his efforts will not be wasted. He can enter the conflict with that faith in the triumph of his cause which is at once the brave man's inspiration and his exceeding great reward.

CONCLUSION.

The history of mankind is a confused but inspiring spectacle. Man came upon the earth to achieve humanity. Nothing was given him ready-made, not even himself. Language had to be developed; the physical world had to be brought under control; order had to be established; human nature had to be moulded and disciplined for the higher social uses. From such beginnings man has wrought out the magnificent achievements of our civilization. It is a long way from the cave dweller to his descendants of today: from his ignorance to our science, from his rude and scanty speech to our developed language, from his small social group to the highly organized modern state, from his superstition to our religion, from his bondage of physical forces to our mastery over them. Man has made numberless blunders, and it has taken him ages to find the way; but in spite of his blundering he has continued to

improve himself and his condition, until now we see him manifestly at the head of all living orders and still full of hope and expectation, as if all he has accomplished were but the first fruits of what is to be done in the future.

Now it is into this heritage of well-ordered achievement that the individual is born. He finds the world cleared up, travel made easy, language developed, society organized, science and invention in active progress; schools, libraries and churches at his service: so much without any effort of his own. Other men labored and he has entered into their labors.

This vast inheritance carries with it immense obligations. The treasures that have come down to us from the past are not for our selfish consumption. We must transmit them improved and augmented to the generations following, for we are members of an advancing race. What the future is to be depends on what we are and what we do in the present. Every social movement, large or small, springs from an individual initiative. The great system of society enables the individual to exert his influence so as to produce far-reaching results, and this effectiveness

increases as society advances. Any man, whatever his position, has far greater influence today than he could have had five hundred years ago, because the progress of civilization has multiplied his powers.

These considerations apply equally to the rank and file of humanity and to the leaders of civilization. The obscure individual, the average man as we call him, may feel that he is lost in the crowd, that his efforts count for little or nothing and that consequently he is under no obligation to work for social advancement. But this is a disastrous mistake. What he thinks, what he says, what he is, spreads by diffusion through the millions who stand on his level, and there results from the constant interplay of such forces the common standard, the common belief, the common demand, to which the leaders of the race must adjust their enterprises. Thus it is the average man who gives moral tone to the community. When there is corruption in high places, it is generally true that this is because the majority of men are willing to have it so. Society suffers more from the thoughtlessness and faithlessness of the average man than from any other cause.

But the effectiveness of the average man is not confined to the influence which he exerts in the unorganized forces of society. He is also an indispensable factor in the higher forms of organized social life. Every system of education, of finance or of government needs the men of ordinary abilities. No amount of sagacity or energy or even of genius on the part of the leaders of mankind can avail without the faithful coöperation of the rank and file. The best laid plans may be wrecked by the neglect or treachery of an obscure subordinate. The connections of the system give potential importance to the humblest of its members. A recruiting sergeant may furnish a handful of soldiers that shall turn the scale in battle. A law clerk may find a fact or a flaw, a policeman may detect and produce a witness, that will win a case affecting the whole trend of a nation's history.

Manifestly, however, it is to the exceptional man that life affords the fullest measure of opportunity. Such men are natural leaders on account of their inherent qualities: their energy, sagacity and strength of will. Moreover, they work in the higher methods, especially in the method of correlation. As

civilization grows more complex, new lines of activity are distinguished and separately organized. This process of special organization is progressive. It calls for continual combinations on a larger and larger scale. The man who can accomplish such combinations is the man of power in the modern social system. Such leaders now operate in a world-wide field and no limit can be assigned to the power which they exert or the good which they accomplish.

But the supreme opportunity of the able man is found in the crises which arise from time to time in the ceaseless interplay of the complicated forces of nature and of society. At such a moment, the leader can, by a single act, set free and direct the accumulated energy of millions of men and of centuries of social development. Crises like these call for the highest moral and intellectual capacity that human nature can afford. Then the individual, by virtue of his native power and by the help which he derives from his ability to utilize the great system of society, with its ever-advancing resources and more and more efficient mechanism, may exercise a commanding influence on the history of civilization. At such a moment we recognize most clearly the function of the individual in society, the service rendered by Each to All.

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